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Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean

*Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in
the Iron Age and Roman Periods*

ALEX MULLEN

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Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean

The interactions of the Celtic-speaking communities of Southern Gaul with the Mediterranean world have intrigued commentators since antiquity. By combining sociolinguistics and archaeology, this book brings to life the multilingualism and multiple identities of the region from the foundation of the Greek colony of Massalia in 600 BC to the final phases of Roman Imperial power. It builds on the interest generated through the application of modern bilingualism theory to ancient evidence by modelling language contact and community dynamics and adopting an interdisciplinary approach. This produces insights into the entanglements and evolving configurations of a dynamic zone of cultural contact. The study exposes key foci of contact-induced change and new interpretations of cultural phenomena highlight complex origins and influences from the entire Mediterranean *koiné*. Southern Gaul reveals itself to be fertile ground for considering the major themes of multilingualism, ethnolinguistic vitality, multiple identities, colonialism and Mediterraneanization.

ALEX MULLEN is a postdoctoral research fellow at All Souls College, Oxford, having previously been Lumley Research Fellow at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Affiliated Lecturer in the Faculty of Classics. Her main research interests lie in the application of contemporary bi- and multilingualism theory to the ancient world and the integration of linguistics and archaeology. She has co-edited (with Patrick James) *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Cambridge, 2012).

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Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	[page viii]
<i>List of maps</i>	[x]
<i>List of tables</i>	[xi]
<i>Preface and acknowledgements</i>	[xiii]
<i>Notes on the text</i>	[xvi]
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	[xvii]

PART I MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTIPLE IDENTITIES: INTERDISCIPLINARY METHODOLOGIES

1	Multiple voices	[3]
1.1	Multiple voices	[3]
1.2	Identities and cultural contacts	[4]
1.3	The role of language in identities and cultural contacts	[14]
1.4	Interdisciplinary approach	[19]
1.5	Southern Gaul	[22]
2	Language contact and community dynamics	[53]
2.1	Contact linguistics and the ancient world: fashionable but not practicable?	[53]
2.2	Mixed languages: pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages	[56]
2.3	Contact linguistics and models of community dynamics	[66]
3	Bilingual texts and community dynamics	[74]
3.1	Bilingualism and the ancient world	[74]
3.2	Typology of bilingual texts	[83]
3.3	Interpreting bilingual phenomena	[85]
3.4	A model of bilingual texts and community dynamics	[93]
4	Scripts as indicators of contact	[95]
4.1	Investigatory framework	[95]
4.2	Gallo-Greek	[98]
4.3	Gallo-Latin in Southern Gaul	[117]
4.4	Attitudes towards scripts: rethinking ‘Hellenization’	[119]
5	Names as indicators of contact	[122]
5.1	Situating the debate	[122]

- 5.2 Personal names of Southern Gaul [124]
- 5.3 Names as evidence for language contact [128]
- 5.4 *Gallia Graeca*: onomastics, identity and the Ionic hypothesis [137]

PART II MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTIPLE IDENTITIES IN SOUTHERN GAUL

- 6 *Gallia in Graeciam translata*? Investigating Gaulish–Greek linguistic contacts [147]
 - 6.1 *Gallia in Graeciam translata*? [147]
 - 6.2 The evidence in *IGF* [148]
 - 6.3 The new database (*Appendix 2*) [152]
 - 6.4 Penetration of Greek [157]
 - 6.5 Evidence for interaction between Greek and Gaulish [169]
 - 6.6 Gaulish–Greek contacts: conclusions from the linguistic evidence [177]
- 7 ‘La Celtique méditerranéenne’? Investigating the influence of the Mediterranean *koine* [179]
 - 7.1 Linguistic evidence for the Italian connection [179]
 - 7.2 Complex interactions: the *dedebrateudekanten* dossier [189]
 - 7.3 Cultural contacts: conclusions from the linguistic evidence [218]
- 8 ‘D’où rayonna en Occident la civilisation’? Investigating the *loci* of cultural change [220]
 - 8.1 *Loci* of cultural change: Glanum and the Aristaion [220]
 - 8.2 Glanum [220]
 - 8.3 The Aristaion [243]
 - 8.4 Glanum and the Aristaion: complexity revealed and future research [262]
- 9 Being Greek, becoming Roman, staying Celtic? Ethnolinguistic vitality from the Augustan period [264]
 - 9.1 Cultural contacts [264]
 - 9.2 The changing linguistic landscape [264]
 - 9.3 Expressing identity through bilingual texts [282]
 - 9.4 Changes in ethnolinguistic vitality [297]
- 10 Conclusions [300]
 - 10.1 *Gallia trilinguis* [300]
 - 10.2 Linguistic and cultural contacts in Southern Gaul [301]
 - 10.3 Scope and limitations of the new methodology [303]
 - 10.4 Future directions [307]

Appendix 1 Letter forms in RIG I [309]

Appendix 2 List of Greek inscriptions of France not included in IGF
[316]

Appendix 3 Onomastica Glanlicorum (OG) [328]

Bibliography [384]

Index locorum [443]

General index [449]

Figures

- 1 Plaque on the Quai des Belges, Marseille (photo: author) [page 49]
- 2 *RIG II.2 L-1*, Ventabren, Musée d'archéologie méditerranéenne de Marseille (photo: author) [117]
- 3 *RIG II.2 L-2*, Coudoux, Musée de Ventabren (photo: Christine Mullen, by kind permission of Christine Mullen) [118]
- 4 Tin ingot, Bagaud 2 wreck (Luc Long/DRASSM) (photo: Philippe Foliot, CNRS-CCJ, by kind permission of Florence Richez) [166]
- 5 *RIG I G-106*, Ventabren, Musée d'archéologie méditerranéenne de Marseille (photo: Remo Mugnaioni, by kind permission of Remo Mugnaioni) [181]
- 6 Bats 2011 fig. 33, Velleron (photo: Michel Bats, by kind permission of Michel Bats) [183]
- 7 Velleron stele on site (photo: Michel Bats, by kind permission of Michel Bats) [184]
- 8 *RIG I G-107*, Ventabren, Musée de Ventabren (photo: Christine Mullen, by kind permission of Christine Mullen) [188]
- 9 *RIG I G-27*, Orgon, Musée Calvet, Avignon (photo: author) [191]
- 10 Drawing of *RIG I G-28*, Saint-Chamas, Calissane (indicating the position of the two lines of text) and the text (A and B) [192]
- 11 *RIG I G-64*, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux, Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (photo: author) [192]
- 12 *RIG I G-65*, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux, Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (photo: author) [193]
- 13 *RIG I G-148*, Malaucène, Chapelle Notre-Dame de Groseau (photo: Jacqueline Maurras, by kind permission of Jacqueline Maurras) [194]
- 14 *RIG I G-183*, Collias, Musée archéologique de Nîmes (photo: author) [195]
- 15 *RIG I G-184*, Collorgues, Musée archéologique de Nîmes (photo: author) [196]
- 16 *RIG I G-202*, Montmirat, Musée archéologique de Nîmes (photo: author) [197]

- 17 *RIG I G-203*, Nîmes, Musée archéologique de Nîmes (photo: author) [197]
- 18 *a and b RIG I G-206*, Nîmes, Musée archéologique de Nîmes (photo: author) [198]
- 19 *RIG I G-214*, Saint-Côme-et-Maruéjols, Musée archéologique de Nîmes (photo: author) [200]
- 20 Steps leading to rock sanctuary, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux (photo: author) [217]
- 21 Hercules, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux, Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (photo: author) [223]
- 22 *IGF 51*, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux, Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (photo: author) [230]
- 23 *CIL XII 991*, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux, Musée des Alpilles, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (photo: Musée des Alpilles, by kind permission of Véronique Legrand) [231]
- 24 House of the Antae, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux (photo: author) [234]
- 25 View of geminate temples, showing reconstructed section, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux (photo: author) [239]
- 26 *IAG 18*, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux (photo: author) [241]
- 27 Sanctuary of Aristaïos (photo: Michel Bats, by kind permission of Michel Bats) [244]
- 28 *IGF 68–28*, Aristaion (photo: Philippe Groscaux, CNRS-CCJ Aix-en-Provence, by kind permission of Michel Bats) [246]
- 29 *IGF 68–35*, Aristaion (photo: Philippe Groscaux, CNRS-CCJ Aix-en-Provence, by kind permission of Michel Bats) [246]
- 30 *IGF 63*, provenance unknown, Musée d'Arles antique (photo: author) [271]
- 31 *IGF 10*, region of Marseille, Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence (photo: author) [295]

Nota bene: several museums are, or will be, undergoing refurbishment or reorganization (e.g. the museums of Marseille, Nîmes and Saint-Rémy-de-Provence), so the locations stated above may have changed since the images were taken.

Maps

- 1 Map of area of study (background map: © d-maps.com) [page 23]
- 2 Map of Phokaian colonization (background map: © d-maps.com) [32]
- 3 Map of sites with Gallo-Greek inscriptions (including those published post-*RIG*) and Lejeune's indication of the area of high frequency of Gallo-Greek inscriptions (after *RIG* I page 16) [100]
- 4 Map showing Glanum's position in the fluvial and road networks (adapted, copyright, Editions du Patrimoine, Centre des monuments nationaux, Paris) [222]
- 5 Map of the archaeological site of Glanum (adapted, copyright, Editions du Patrimoine, Centre des monuments nationaux, Paris) [224]

Tables

- 1 Indicators of high ethnolinguistic vitality [*page 71*]
- 2 Contact linguistics and community dynamics [*72*]
- 3 Typology of bilingual texts [*84*]
- 4 The nature of borrowing under different conditions of language contact (excluding imperfect learning) [*90*]
- 5 Bilingual texts and community dynamics [*93*]
- 6 Letter forms in *RIG I* [*104*]
- 7 Additional elements in Greek naming formulae [*126*]
- 8 Dates for Roman naming formulae [*128*]
- 9 Filiation and additional elements in Roman naming formulae [*129*]
- 10 ‘Phokaian’ nomenclature based on river names [*138*]
- 11 Celtic names of the Aristaion [*250*]
- 12 Revisiting Table 2: Contact linguistics and community dynamics [*305*]
- 13 Revisiting Table 5: Bilingual texts and community dynamics [*306*]

Preface and acknowledgements

Multilingualism is all around us. It always has been and always will be. The application of the theory and findings of multilingualism studies to the ancient world and the integration of sociolinguistics with historical linguistics, archaeology and history mark a new approach to interrogating multiple identities and understanding cultural contacts. In my detailed methodological chapters (Part I) and extensive case study (Part II) I present the tools, demonstrate their utility and encourage future developments in this nascent field.

Recent publications have inspired this book: the ground-breaking studies of bilingualism and regional diversification by the master of Latin studies, Jim Adams, the rich *Corrupting sea* by Horden and Purcell and the interdisciplinary work of Wallace-Hadrill in *Rome's cultural revolution*. Another key publication, Dietler 2010, appeared after the text was essentially finished. This is an excellent guide to the relatively diffuse and complex scholarly output on Southern Gaul which has not been overly endowed with Anglo-phone literature. The early stages of this project would have been much smoother with this at hand. Whilst the chronological and geographical spread of Dietler's work overlaps to an extent with this one, the studies are highly complementary in that Dietler interrogates in particular the 'cross-cultural consumption of different forms of material culture, urban landscapes, economic practices, and forms of violence' (2010 9) which are not a primary focus here. I am grateful to Cambridge University Press and Denise Demetriou for allowing me to read the introduction and chapter 1 of her book on constructions of identities in the archaic and classical Mediterranean ahead of its publication. I was able to do little more than add a handful of references to this stimulating study in my footnotes. I was cheered by the similar directions of her arguments concerning the multicultural Mediterranean and her complementary discussion of *emporia*. There will never be an end to the reading, nor to the epigraphic and archaeological publications which are 'expected shortly', but at some point this manuscript had to be completed.

My greatest debt of gratitude is owed to James Clackson and Paul Russell who have been sources of inspiration and support for many years. I

also deeply appreciate the expert guidance which Jim Adams has provided. My dear friend and colleague, Patrick James, has given me tireless advice and encouragement. I am also pleased to thank the following who have supported my work in various ways: David Abulafia, Mary Beard, Margaret Dolman, Ralph Häussler, Geoff Horrocks, Pierre-Yves Lambert, Irad Malkin, Torsten Meissner, John Patterson, Oliver Simkin, Andrew Wilson, Greg Woolf.

A trip to Lyon in Easter 2007 was essential to the development of my work, thanks to the generosity and thoughtfulness of Professor Jean-Claude Decourt, who allowed me access to his unpublished database of Greek inscriptions from France, which formed the basis for *Appendix 2*. Trips to the Midi in autumn 2007 and Easter 2008 proved vital: long-studied inscriptions were a joy to behold, but discovering unpublished material was even more special. The exceptional kindness (especially at the Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, the Service régional d'archéologie, Aix-en-Provence (henceforth *SRA*), and the Musée archéologique de Nîmes) thoroughly outweighed the occasional difficulties I experienced in accessing material, and I thank Sandrine Agusta-Boularot, Sophie André, Pascal Arnaud, Maxence Bailly, Michel Bats, Viviane Billard, Bruno Bizot, Alain Caplanis, Dominique Darde, Eric Delaval, Xavier Delestre, Cyril Dumas, Claude Galdeano, Maude Grillet, Sabrina Lamotte-Deribes, Corine Landuré, David Lavergne, Véronique Legrand, Jacqueline Maurras, Rémo Mugnaioni, Virginie Olier, Bruno Portet, Marie-Lise Ribière, Elsa Saget, Franck Suméra, Françoise Trial, Stefan Tzortzis. I would like to express my gratitude to the following for allowing me to reproduce their photographs: Michel Bats, Jacqueline Maurras, Rémo Mugnaioni, Christine Mullen; and to the following for facilitating access to the inscriptions and for confirming that the images could be included in this book: Odile Cavalier, Dominique Darde, Véronique Legrand, Marie-Lise Ribière, Françoise Trial. I hope that those fortunate enough to work daily on the archaeology of Southern Gaul will regard with a certain degree of patience my efforts to interpret some of the fascinating material.

None of these trips, and others to present papers and attend conferences, would have been possible without generous grants from Jesus College and Magdalene College, Cambridge, the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge, and the Arts and Humanities Research Council. I am grateful to the latter for funding my M.Phil. and Ph.D. This book is an expanded and revised version of my doctoral thesis (2005–2008). I am indebted to Magdalene College, Cambridge, for appointing me to an invaluable research fellowship (2008–2011), which provided the perfect environment to further my research.

The final stages of publication were completed at All Souls College, Oxford, where I now hold a research fellowship. I am extremely grateful to the editors of Cambridge Classical Studies and to the wonderful team at Cambridge University Press, especially Michael Sharp, Elizabeth Hanlon, Jodie Hodgson and Anna Hodson.

Finally, I would like to thank family (including ‘ma famille en France’) and friends. Particular thanks should be extended to Mike Dolman, and Christine Mullen who with unwavering enthusiasm dragged me, from a young age, around every conceivable ‘vieille pierre’ of Provence. I dedicate this book to them and to my late grandfather.

Notes on the text

In this book, the transcriptions of Greek inscriptions will follow the practice of *IGF*: the letters will be lower-case and accented, with capital letters used when the meaning is unclear. I depart from *IGF* in that Gaulish names within Greek inscriptions will remain unaccented. Gaulish inscriptions will be transcribed in upper-case (as they appear in the inscriptions), unlike the practice of *RIG* which uses lower-case. When the linguistic affiliation of the inscriptions is unclear, upper-case will be used. The Leiden system is employed for the editorial *sigla* (see Dow 1969, McLean 2002 27–39, Woodhead 1981 6–11). I have not attempted to re-edit the inscriptions except in the case of the *dedebratoudekanten* dossier (§7.2) and where stated. Much of the bibliography cited in *IGF*, including Decourt’s personal notes on the early modern transcriptions, was accessed at Lyon, but, due to restrictions of space, references have only been made in the text to particularly salient information or bibliography not included in *IGF*. No up-to-date, published *corpus* of the inscriptions of Phokaia was available during research for this book, so I have made reference to the electronic *corpus* assembled for the *PHI* database (which I have labelled ‘*Phokaia*’; see the list of abbreviations for further details).

Dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations below occur in the text. Abbreviations of classical works follow *LSJ*. When references are made to *corpora* of texts, page numbers will be distinguished from the numbers of the texts by the insertion of ‘page(s)’. Where journals are abbreviated in the bibliography, the practice of *Année philologique* has been adopted.

AE	<i>Année épigraphique</i>
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
CAG	Provost, M. <i>et al.</i> 1988– <i>Carte archéologique de la Gaule</i> (Paris)
CIG	Boeckh, A. (ed.) 1828–77 <i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i> (Berlin)
CIL	Mommsen, T. (ed.) 1862– <i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> (Berlin)
CPL	Cavenaile, R. 1958 <i>Corpus papyrorum latinarum</i> (Wiesbaden)
CPNRB	Mullen, A. and Russell, P. 2007– <i>Celtic personal names of Roman Britain</i> www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/personalnames/
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
DAG	Whatmough, J. 1970 [1949–51] <i>The dialects of ancient Gaul: prolegomena and records of the dialects</i> (Cambridge, MA) (new edition)
DGE	Gangutia, E. 1980 <i>Diccionario griego-español</i> (Madrid)
EM	Morel, J.-P. 1986– <i>Études massaliètes</i> (Aix-en-Provence)
GL	Keil, H. (ed.) 1855–80 <i>Grammatici latini</i> I–VII (Leipzig)
GPN	Evans, D. E. 1967 <i>Gaulish personal names: a study of some Continental Celtic formations</i> (Oxford)
Holder	Holder, A. 1896–1913 <i>Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz</i> (Leipzig)
IAG	Rolland, H. 1944 ‘Inscriptions antiques de Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence): révision et complément du <i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> ’ <i>Gallia</i> 2, 167–223

IAN	Germer-Durand, E., Germer-Durand, F. and Allmer, A. 1893 <i>Inscriptions antiques de Nîmes</i> (Toulouse)
ICS	Masson, O. 1961 <i>Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques: recueil critique et commenté</i> (Paris)
IEW	Pokorny, J. 1959 <i>Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> (Bern)
IG	1873– <i>Inscriptiones graecae</i> (Berlin)
IGF	Decourt, J.-C. 2004 <i>Inscriptions grecques de la France</i> (Lyon)
IGG	<i>Inscriptions grecques de la Gaule</i> (paper database at Lyon)
IGUR	Moretti, L. (ed.) 1968–79 <i>Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae</i> (Rome)
ILGN	Espérandieu, E. 1929 <i>Inscriptions latines de Gaule Narbonnaise</i> (Paris)
ILN	Gascou, J. 1995 <i>Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise: III Aix-en-Provence</i> (Paris)
KGPN	Schmidt, K. H. 1957 <i>Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen</i> (Tübingen)
LEIA	Vendryes, J. 1959– <i>Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien</i> (Dublin)
LGPN	Fraser, P. M. et al. 1987– <i>A lexicon of Greek personal names</i> (Oxford)
Lindos II	Blinkenberg, C. 1941 <i>Lindos: fouilles et recherches, 1902–1914: II Inscriptions</i> (Copenhagen/Berlin)
LIV	Rix, H. (ed.) 2001 <i>Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen</i> (Wiesbaden) (second edition)
MDR	[s.d.] <i>Catalogue du Musée des docks romains de Marseille</i> (Marseille)
MG	Giffault, M. 1983 <i>Un sanctuaire d'Aristée aux Iles d'Hyères (Var)</i> (unpublished PhD thesis (troisième cycle), University of Aix-en-Provence)
MHM	1988 <i>Catalogue du Musée d'histoire de Marseille</i> (Marseille)
MLH II	Untermann, J. 1980 <i>Monumenta linguarum hispanicarum: II Die Inschriften in iberischer Schrift aus Südfrankreich</i> (Wiesbaden)
MLH IV	Untermann, J. 1997 <i>Monumenta linguarum hispanicarum: IV Die tartessischen, keltiberischen und lusitanischen Inschriften</i> (Wiesbaden)
NPC	Delamarre, X. 2007 <i>Noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique</i> (Paris)

OG	<i>Onomastica Glanlicorum</i> (Appendix 3)
PECS	Stillwell, R., MacDonald, W. L. and McAlister, M. H. 1976 <i>The Princeton encyclopaedia of classical sites</i> (Princeton, NJ)
PHI	The Packard Humanities Institute database, Cornell University, Ohio State University
Phokaia	McCabe, D. F. 1989 <i>Phokaia inscriptions: texts and list</i> . The Princeton project on the inscriptions of Anatolia, the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. Packard Humanities Institute CD #6, 1991
RAN	<i>Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise</i>
RDG	Jufer, N. and Luginbühl, T. 2001 <i>Répertoire des dieux gaulois</i> (Paris)
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
RIB I	Collingwood, R. G. and Wright, R. P. 1965 <i>The Roman inscriptions of Britain: I Inscriptions on stone</i> (Oxford)
RIB II	Frere, S. S., Hassall, M. W. C., Roxan, M. and Tomlin, R. S. O. 1990–5 <i>The Roman inscriptions of Britain: II Instrumentum domesticum</i> , fascicules 1–8 (Gloucester)
RICG	Marrou, H. I. (ed.) 1975– <i>Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures à la Renaissance carolingienne</i> (Paris)
RIG	Colbert de Beaulieu, J.-B., Duval, P.-M., Fischer, B., Lejeune, M., Lambert, P.-Y. and Pinault, G. 1985– <i>Recueil des inscriptions gauloises</i> I, II.1, II.2, III (Paris)
SEG	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i>
SIG ³	1915–1924 <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> (Leipzig)
ST	Rix, H. 2002 <i>Sabellische Texte</i> (Heidelberg)
Tab. Sulis	Tomlin, R. S. O. 1988 ‘The curse tablets’ in B. Cunliffe (ed.) <i>The temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath: II The finds from the sacred spring</i> (Oxford) 59–269
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

PART I

Multilingualism and multiple identities:
interdisciplinary methodologies

1.1 Multiple voices¹

Across the globe multilingualism is more prevalent than monolingualism and, over the last decades, has become a research focus in the study of the past. Inspired particularly by the work of Adams, who applied contemporary bilingualism theory systematically to a huge *corpus*, linguists are interrogating language contact in the ancient and medieval worlds. But that is not all. The spark of interest has also begun to catch in other disciplines, not least in archaeology, anthropology and (art-) history, as their adherents turn again to studies of language contact for terms and models to apply to the processes and outcomes of cultural contact (§1.3).²

This book has three major aims. One is to set out the highlights of modern bi-/multilingualism studies and to demonstrate the scope and limitations of the application of their theories, methodologies and findings to the evidence from antiquity. Picking a sensible path through minefields of terminology and setting out an up-to-date, clear manifesto for how we might proceed should allow both linguists and non-linguists to appreciate the potentialities of this rapidly developing new field. The second is to propose an interdisciplinary approach integrating archaeology and the study of multilingualism. The disciplines of linguistics and archaeology are much more closely allied than our scholarly world often implies. The third is to employ this theory and methodology to interpret the evidence from Southern Gaul from the foundation of Massalia in the sixth century BC to the end of Roman rule. This region remains relatively poorly known beyond its borders and has thus far escaped large-scale, linguistic treatment.³ A comprehensive history of Southern Gaul is not attempted, instead an integrated interdisciplinary analysis will offer insights particularly into transition phases and

¹ *Multiple voices* is the title of a useful, general introduction to contemporary bilingualism, Myers-Scotton 2006.

² See, most recently, Mullen and James 2012, especially chapters by Mullen, Osborne and Wilson.

³ Dietler's recent monograph (2010) will no doubt open the area to a much wider scholarly audience.

will demonstrate the benefits and drawbacks of the approach and suggest directions for future research.

1.2 Identities and cultural contacts

To attempt to appreciate the entanglements of cultural contacts over a millennium in Southern Gaul, we must clarify at the outset what we mean by identity and ethnicity, and how material culture and language can be used in their (re-)construction. The concepts of identity and ethnicity are often employed as all-purpose explanatory tools, perhaps sometimes in a misguided attempt to legitimize research. Let us consider the multiple voices attempting to understand identity, ethnicity and cultural contacts.

There has been considerable progress, at least from our perspective, since the ‘bad old days’ of the culture-historical approach of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Material culture was directly assigned to ethnic groups without question (the now often ridiculed ‘pots = people’ equation) and Greek and Roman civilizations were idealized and characterized as monolithic. Cultural contacts between the classical world and ‘Others’ were essentially reduced to a process of civilizing backward peoples, who, when they did behave themselves and took on Greek and Roman culture, did so with gusto and gratitude. The process of taking on Greek culture was labelled ‘Hellenization’ and that of adopting Roman culture, the main agent of which was military might, ‘Romanization’.

Social scientists, particularly in the climate of post-colonialism and deconstruction, questioned these traditional views of the nature of culture and ethnicity.⁴ For them, identity is the multidimensional overarching concept, encompassing several sub-categories, not only ethnic identity, but also cultural, regional, local, personal, religious, occupational and national identities. Manifestations of identity entail the choosing of a set of features, or markers, of which some are prioritized depending on circumstances. So well accepted are these stances that it now seems almost clichéd to recite the standard story that identity is negotiated, multilayered and context-specific. Classicists absorbed these ideas from outside their field and had to reconsider their own views of identity and the processes of cultural change.

⁴ I am aware that this characterization of ‘bad old days’ to ‘modern sophistication’ is a vast oversimplification. But it is unnecessary to rehearse here the well-known developments along the way (acculturation theory, world-systems theory, etc.), for a useful summary see Dietler 2010 45–53.

Ethnic identity, or ethnicity, has received particularly intense attention from Classicists and others.⁵ Ethnic identity can perhaps most successfully be described as the self-conscious identification of a group with a series of cultural traits which differentiate it from other groups, plus notions of shared history, shared territory, kinship and common descent. Just like identity, ethnicity is constructed, dynamic and situational. Ethnicity is, of course, not just a scholarly interest; contested ethnicities and ethnic conflicts have blighted human history and continue to do so. Often wrapped up in contemporary ethnic conflict is the contentious issue of reconstructing 'ethnicity' in the past. One problem in reconstructing ancient ethnicity is that some modern scholarship, in appreciating the complexity of identities and the fuzziness of the boundaries between them, has extended the term 'ethnic' allowing it to be synonymous with other socio-cultural constructs, such as cultural identity. But for many Classicists ethnic identity and cultural identity are not simply interchangeable. For example, a set of distinctive features can be said to characterize both Roman and Greek cultural identity, but these identities were assumed by numerous 'non-Greek' and 'non-Roman' communities without *necessarily* including any ethnic component; plenty of communities in the Roman Empire took on ways of 'being Roman' but remained ethnically 'local'. Pinpointing specifically 'ethnic', as opposed to other forms of identity, poses problems however, especially in the absence of textual information. Scholars tend to be divided between those who require textual sources since they consider fictive kinship, descent and association with a shared territory of paramount importance in defining ethnic identity, and others, particularly archaeologists, who adopt broader definitions and argue that ethnicity can be reconstructed in the absence of texts.⁶

Hall champions the more text-centric approach in his investigation of Greek ethnicity in antiquity. He argues that Hellenic identity emerged in the sixth century, later than traditionally thought, and shifted from an ethnic identity to a broader cultural identity in the fifth century.⁷ Intrahellenic groups, present from an earlier period, such as the Dorians and the Ionians

⁵ Studies evoking identity and ethnicity have been a feature of Classics for decades and, if anything, are proliferating. For important studies, see, for instance, Bickermann 1952, Braund 1980, Cartledge 1993, Cornell and Lomas 1997, Dench 1995, 2005, Finley 1954, Gera 2003, Gruen 1993, Hall 1989, Hall 1997, 2002, Jones 1997, Lomas 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, Malkin 1998, 2001, 2011, Mattingly 1997, McNerney 1999, Metzler *et al.* 1995, Millett 1990, Rives 1999, Roymans 2004, Saïd 1991, Walbank 1951, Wallace-Hadrill 2008, Williams 2001a, Woolf 1998.

⁶ Hall 1997 17–33, 2002 9–19, Hall *et al.* 1998. Jones 1997 demonstrates this confusion as her definitions refer to 'and/or common descent' (xiii) but later 'and common descent' (84), though she seems to support a broad definition (87).

⁷ Hall 2002.

are shown by Hall to have been ethnic groups.⁸ Hall has faced opposition, perhaps most vigorously from Malkin (2011), who argues that Hellenic identity was a product of colonization in the archaic period. The debate over archaic Greek identities is perhaps not central to our purpose, but another conclusion of Hall's studies certainly is. Following his definition, ethnic identity cannot be established through archaeology and linguistics alone; literary evidence is necessary, thus rendering many ethnic groups of the past unidentifiable.⁹ Even if we reject this rigid definition and accept a polythetic definition of ethnicity, where fictive kinship, descent and association with a shared territory are not essential, it is still not certain that archaeology and linguistics alone can offer access to the psychological constructions which may, or may not, have been associated with zones of similar material or linguistic remains.

In the same year that Hall's *Ethnic identity in Greek antiquity* appeared, Jones published an influential treatise, *The archaeology of ethnicity* (1997). Jones presents an excellent introduction to the scholarship and issues in assigning ethnicity to past communities, but, in my opinion, ultimately does not provide a theory of practice for the 'archaeology of ethnicity'. There is no doubt that 'material culture is frequently implicated in both the recognition and expression of ethnicity; it both contributes to the formulation of ethnicity and is structured by it'¹⁰ and we can identify objects with apparently 'emblematic style';¹¹ however, we are not in a position using material culture alone to identify which precise modes of identity were being transmitted. What may seem significant and 'emblematic' to us within the archaeological record may have had no particular importance to the communities we are studying.

The vexed question of the meaning of 'Celtic' is perhaps one of the best-known examples of the complex relationship between types of identity, and the tension between constructions of these in the past and present. The subject is deeply entwined with modern ideologies and identities and quickly becomes a sensitive issue.¹² Williams (2001a) discusses three forms of modern 'Celticity'.¹³ The first, 'federal Celticity', has been used to

⁸ See Hall 1997, also 2002, especially 56–89.

⁹ See, for instance, Hall 1997 111–142, 2002 19–29. ¹⁰ Jones 1997 120.

¹¹ For the archaeology of cultural identity, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008 7–9.

¹² Battlelines have, rather unhelpfully, been drawn between 'Celtosceptics' and 'Celtomaniacs'; for a flavour of the debate, see Carr 2004, Chapman 1992, Collis 1997, 2003, Dietler 1994, 2006, Goudineau, Guichard and Kaenel 2010, Hikida 2004, James 1998, 1999, Koch 2009, McCone 2008, Megaw and Megaw 1996, 1998, Merriman 1987, Renfrew 1987, Sims-Williams 1998a, 1998b, Williams 1997, 2001a.

¹³ Williams 2001a 6–14.

provide unifying pre-historic origins for the European Union, replacing the Roman origins which were tainted by the Fascists and which had too large a geographical scope.¹⁴ The second, 'separatist Celticity', again based on pre-historic origins, was created in the nineteenth century to promote new identities in areas such as Ireland, Wales, Scotland and Brittany in the face of perceived external threats from England and France, and much more recently has been pressed into service in Northern Italy. The third, 'post-Celticity', argues that the popular acceptance of 'Celtic' as a modern ethnic designation should not be incautiously retrojected into antiquity. For the ancient world, we are reminded that we should not confuse emic (the insider's) and etic (the outsider's) constructions, and that Greek, Roman and modern discourses fit into the latter. Williams reserves the terminology 'Celtic', 'Celt', 'Gallic', 'Gaul' to refer to externally imposed ethnic categories.

The debate is clearly of relevance for this study. Though I follow the tenets of what Williams labels the 'post-Celticity' school, my primary use of the term 'Celtic' will be linguistic, with references to contemporary, externally imposed labels made explicit. A sub-group of Indo-European, the Celtic linguistic branch is distinguished by a series of diagnostic features, for instance loss of inherited */p/, */g^w/ > /b/, */t/ > r/, */l/ > /li/.¹⁵ We can therefore establish, when enough inscriptional evidence is available, whether the epigraphy is likely to have been the product of what we term Celtic speakers. Problems arise, of course, when the evidence does not yield the relevant diagnostic features or when uncertainty exists over the analysis of the forms.¹⁶ However, if numerous Celtic inscriptions can be identified in an area, we might assume the presence of Celtic speakers. To assign to these speakers a Celtic ethnicity or to associate the material culture of these areas with the language group, and then to classify similar material culture elsewhere as 'Celtic', exceeds the evidence. We have seen that a key lesson of twentieth-century archaeology was that material culture cannot be unquestioningly assigned to peoples, ethnic or otherwise, and we will see that language, ethnicity and culture are linked in an intricate dialectic (§1.3). Since the label 'Celtic' in the ancient world is an etic construction, it is misleading to assume that the fragmented, disparate Celtic-speaking populations of the Iron Age had any sense of Celtic ethnicity. Even in the Roman period, the designation 'Celt' used by local people to refer to themselves

¹⁴ This stance was perhaps most strikingly expressed in the exhibition on the Celts in the Palazzo Grassi in Venice, 1991.

¹⁵ See Mullen 2007b 56. ¹⁶ See Mullen 2012a.

never appears on dedicatory tombstones in Gaul, and ‘Gaul’ hardly ever.¹⁷ Indeed, even the designations used in this study, ‘indigenous’ (to refer to the heterogeneous mass of Celtic-speaking peoples of Southern Gaul), ‘Roman’ and ‘Greek’, should be seen as convenient shorthand: ethnicity can rarely be viewed in such black-and-white terms and identities can be multiple.¹⁸

This more sophisticated way of approaching communities of the ancient world has also forced us to rethink views of cultural contacts. If identities are multiple, dynamic and situational, and pots no longer equal people, our simplistic vision of cultural contacts as the civilizing by Greeks and Romans of barbarians must change too. But an appreciation of the complexity has complicated matters. Debate over which models and terminology we should use for cultural contacts never seems to cease, especially in archaeological circles, with different terminologies sometimes masking very similar models¹⁹ and few clear signs of consensus.²⁰ We seem to have a choice between rehabilitation of old chestnuts: ‘acculturation’,²¹ ‘Hellenization’, ‘Romanization’, or replacement by new, more fashionable, models, such as ‘creolization’,²² ‘hybridization’,²³ ‘discrepant experience’,²⁴ ‘globalization’,²⁵ ‘middle ground’²⁶ and ‘bilingualism’ (§1.3), whose longevity has not yet been tested. Or can we mix-and-match? Perhaps, as with identities, it is not a case of ‘either/or’; ‘discrepant experience’, for example, might allow

¹⁷ Collis 2003 105. ‘Gauls never represented themselves, in all the honorific and funerary inscriptions they set up, either as Gauls or as members of a given province, but rather as belonging to the *ciuitas* of the Remi, the Pictones, the Redones or the Aedui’ (Goudineau 1996 468). I surveyed the instances of the *Kelt*- root in published local, Greek and Latin epigraphy from the Western provinces, and found that, in ‘emic’ contexts, it seems to appear as a personal name or place-name (once, *Celti*, Southern Spain), never as an ethnic designation, unless one or two of the names can be analysed as ethnics. Intriguingly, the vast majority of these name forms appear in *Hispania*, which poses the question of whether there may have been a local (ethnic?) identity named using this *Kelt*- root, which was then taken on by Greeks in the archaic period and extended to the ‘barbarians’ of a much wider area. But the relevant evidence from *Hispania* is much later in date and the suggestion highly speculative. The term in an ethnic and ‘etic’ sense does appear, for example, we find Κελτοί in a third-century AD Greek inscription from Lyon (*IGF* 143) and possibly on the tin ingots found in the Bagaud 2 wreck (§6.4.2).

¹⁸ Dietler 1999a 494 note 2.

¹⁹ Millett underlines the similarity between concepts and suggests that difference is overinflated by rhetoric, by publishing part of his introduction to the *Romanization of Britain* (1990) with the term *Romanization* replaced with *creolization*, with apparently little or no effect (2003–4 171).

²⁰ For some of the debates, see the proceedings of the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conferences.

²¹ For acculturation, see Dietler 2010 47. ²² For creolization, see §2.2.2.

²³ For hybridity, see Antonaccio 2005, van Dommelen 1997.

²⁴ For discrepant experience, see Mattingly 1997. ²⁵ For globalization, see Hingley 2005.

²⁶ For middle ground, see Gosden 2004, Malkin 2002, 2004, 2011. This concept is taken from White’s work on contacts in the Great Lakes region 1650–1815 (White 1991).

us to explain the modalities and dynamics of ‘Romanization’. Indeed, we should always be aware of the different scales of our analysis, whether it be Empire-wide, community-based or individual-focused. As Woolf reminds us, the different perspectives, local and global, are not mutually exclusive, and we must look to both.²⁷

One indefatigable sticking-point in the debate has been the use of certain well-established ‘-izations’, especially Hellenization and Romanization. These descriptors seem trapped in analytical spins, still attracting the ever-tempting scare quotes, and many archaeologists would be happy to see them eliminated.²⁸ However, Hellenization and Romanization seem to have held on, in some disciplines at least, with relative tenacity. Whilst fully accepting the criticisms of the traditional use of the terms, I am not sure that they have completely lost their utility, particularly as the alternatives do not specify in themselves the contact culture in question and it is only with large-scale concepts such as Romanization that we can ‘compare one local sequence to another and observe variations’.²⁹ Since no replacements have been universally accepted, Hellenization and Romanization can still be applied, but with an understanding that they now describe a much more complex process than that to which they traditionally referred. As Wallace-Hadrill remarks: ‘terms like “hellenisation” and “romanisation” are fraught with difficulties, though this is no reason for avoiding them completely, but rather for unpacking them carefully and not using them unreflectingly’.³⁰

The concepts of Hellenization and Romanization can continue to be useful if they encompass the major developments of recent decades. First, a sophisticated view of the transmission of the cultural phenomena must be adopted, though the details of the exact route may remain obscure. Second, the agency of the indigenous peoples and the individual must be in focus. Third, culture cannot be regarded as monolithic and static; objects adopted can no longer be linked in simplistic equations to the donor culture and donor communities can also undergo transformation.³¹ Fourth, the nature of so-called Greek/Roman elements must be examined, and their importance and the extent to which they retain their value of ‘Greekness’/‘Romanness’ as they move between settlements and individuals should be assessed.³² Indeed scholars must reconsider how far what we term key indicators of ‘Greekness’ or ‘Romanness’ actually functioned as such in

²⁷ Woolf 2003–4 159. ²⁸ See Millett 2003–4 for different responses to the term.

²⁹ Woolf 2003–4 159. ³⁰ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 28. See also Harris 2005b 33.

³¹ See Dietler 2007 242, 276.

³² See Bats 2007 for some thoughts on material culture (specifically ceramic) and ethnicity.

the ancient world.³³ Finally, rejection and resistance must be analysed in research which should aim to integrate the spectrum of responses.

The term ‘Hellenization’,³⁴ if retained in our terminological arsenal, should be used to describe the processes and results of contact with ‘Greek’ culture, as ‘Romanization’³⁵ should be for ‘Roman’ culture, though clearly the two are profoundly intertwined. Wallace-Hadrill (2008) provides an elegant discussion of the nature of the interaction. He notes that through the traditional compartmentalization of disciplines and periodization, Hellenization and Romanization have tended to remain distinct, but that “‘hellenisation’ and ‘romanisation’ are not sequential, but two closely interrelated aspects of the same phenomenon”.³⁶ While the “Greek” is defined precisely by its Hellenic culture, the “Roman” is defined by political structures. Everything under Roman control may be taken as “Roman” whereas within that control, the “Greek” may remain culturally distinctive.³⁷ Further to this, Wallace-Hadrill is keen that we keep ‘the local’ in focus, which renders the picture still more intricate. In pre-Social War Italy, for example, Hellenism should not simply be seen as ‘the cultural arm of Roman conquest’.³⁸ He shows that Romans were protective of their identity and that the Italian cities were often Hellenistic trend-setters where Rome ‘lagged significantly behind’.³⁹ This trend-setting is better explained ‘in terms of desire to assert local pride in a context of multiple identities than as an aspiration to Roman identity’.⁴⁰ Under Augustus, once a sort of consensus about the nature of Romanness, and the role of Hellenic culture within that, was established, along with the desire to share it, the provinces interacted with this cultural package. But the result, even then, was not homogeneity, but rather a wide range of variants on the same theme, in each case motivated by the specificities of the local cultural background,⁴¹ analogous, indeed, to the creation of regional varieties of Latin across the same areas.

It might seem inopportune in a climate of proliferating terms and lack of accord to attempt to define and support a new term, especially one which has a whiff of a ‘Grand Theory’. Nevertheless, ‘Mediterraneanization’ does

³³ See Wallace-Hadrill 2008 102–103.

³⁴ Key discussions of Hellenization include: Gallini 1973, Wallace-Hadrill 2008 17–28, Zanker 1976.

³⁵ Key discussions of Romanization include: Blagg and Millett 1990, Derks 1998, Keay and Terrenato 2001 (who support the use of the term in its ‘weak’ sense, namely ‘as a convenient label that refers loosely to events involved in the creation of a new and unified political entity’ (ix)), Metzler *et al.* 1995, Millett 1990, Revell 2009, Wallace-Hadrill 2008 9–14, Webster and Cooper 1996, Woolf 1997, 1998.

³⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 26. See also Woolf 1994a. ³⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 27.

³⁸ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 447. ³⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 447.

⁴⁰ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 448. ⁴¹ See Wallace-Hadrill 2008 453–454.

seem to have a different remit from that of ‘Hellenization’ and ‘Romanization’ and may prove to be useful. It is essentially a way of signifying that our investigatory framework is one which deals with the complex series of cultures constituting the Mediterranean ‘*koine*’,⁴² in which ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ culture systems, amongst others, play a part.

The inspiration behind the term, for me at least,⁴³ is the monumental work of Horden and Purcell which provides an all-embracing discussion of the history of the Mediterranean.⁴⁴ It is worth briefly discussing their *magnum opus* here as they have brought the Mediterranean to centre-stage again in a way that has not happened since Braudel.⁴⁵ They argue that the Mediterranean world is ‘made distinctive not only by its fragmentation but by its connectivity’⁴⁶ and that we might visualize the Mediterranean as a peninsula in reverse,⁴⁷ regarding the sea not as an isolating factor but a mass of networks: it ‘has an inside-out geography in which the world of the sea is “normal” (the interior), and the land is the fringe, its marginality increasing with its distance from the water’.⁴⁸ Their comments on connectivity, and the closely related topic of mobility, both of people and goods,⁴⁹ remind us of the fluidity and flexibility of the ancient Mediterranean. They discuss the ‘bewildering ethnic variety’, noting that, in such an environment, it must have been impossible in many areas to assign true indigenous status to any one group.⁵⁰ Also salient for this study are their remarks on trade. Underwater archaeology, which has been well supported in France,⁵¹ has demonstrated that mixed cargoes were common and that *cabotage*, which was able to avoid the seasonal restrictions of bigger vessels, would have represented a significant proportion of trade.⁵² The mixed nature of the crews and *caboteurs* resulted in a heterogeneous maritime *koine* involving

⁴² The term ‘Koine’ refers to the common Greek language of post-classical antiquity. The term ‘Mediterranean *koine*’ refers to the heterogeneous inhabitants of the Mediterranean basin, who share in a series of ‘Mediterranean’ cultural features (p. 13).

⁴³ In searching the literature, the earliest use of the term I found is in Kimmig 1988 (‘*méditerranéisation*’); it does not seem to have gained much currency until relatively recently.

⁴⁴ Horden and Purcell 2000 (see also Purcell 2003, Horden and Purcell 2005). See Gras 1995a for a view of the Mediterranean in the archaic period, Abulafia 2011 for the Mediterranean across time and Broodbank forthcoming for the archaeology of the Mediterranean until the formation of the classical world.

⁴⁵ Braudel 1966.

⁴⁶ Horden and Purcell 2000 343. For recent work on networks, see Malkin 2011, Malkin, Constantapoulou and Panagopoulou 2009.

⁴⁷ Horden and Purcell 2000 24. Gras views the Mediterranean as a ‘*ciment liquide*’ (1995a 4).

⁴⁸ Horden and Purcell 2000 133. ⁴⁹ Horden and Purcell 2000, especially 123–172, 342–400.

⁵⁰ Horden and Purcell 2000 377–400.

⁵¹ See Dietler 1997 294–296, 2007 267–270, 2010 133–138, Hesnard 1992, Long, Miro and Volpe 1992, Pomey and Long 1992 for shipwrecks in southern French coastal waters.

⁵² Horden and Purcell 2000 137–143, 368–372.

the entire Mediterranean basin.⁵³ As we shall see, although the orthodoxy on Southern Gaul states that Massalia controlled trade in the region, we have no information as to how, and it is unlikely that the influence of that *polis* would have negated the impact of mixed trading groups, who may even have settled in the area. The multiplicity of the Mediterranean will have left its mark.

This is not the place to add to the ranks of reviews of *The corrupting sea*,⁵⁴ some of which raise important concerns: the lack of a narrative; ‘ecology at the expense of society’;⁵⁵ the bluntness of concepts such as connectivity and the deficiencies in the anthropological and archaeological aspects of the study.⁵⁶ However, we must tackle the question of whether the Mediterranean is a valid unit of study, and whether Mediterraneanism exists, and if so, in what sense.⁵⁷ Sceptics do have significant arguments, but Horden and Purcell are convincing on the overall validity of the Mediterranean as a unit of study. Whilst the lands and peoples surrounding the Mediterranean are extremely diverse, the largely navigable liquid centre offers a permanent, though mutable, series of connections and routes of transmission which, I argue, can be shown to have had a distinctive, though complex, impact on the resident communities.

Morris (2003) presents an insightful critique of the theory behind *The corrupting sea*, arguing that it is a response to globalization, and that we should follow theorists of globalization in focusing on the processes of ‘Mediterraneanization’ rather than the state of ‘Mediterraneanism’. When ‘Mediterraneanism’ itself is still relatively ill-defined, it may be hard, as Morris seems to have found, to assign a definition to ‘Mediterraneanization’. I propose that the term does have definable content and value, namely to refer to contact with, and responses to, populations (e.g. the maritime *koine*) and goods of the Mediterranean basin. Hellenization and Romanization can be

⁵³ Horden and Purcell 2000 377–383. For Punic and Greek graffiti from the same wreck (‘El Sec’), see De Hoz 1987.

⁵⁴ For the importance of their work, see Morris 2003 31–32. The contributions assembled in Harris 2005a illustrate diverse approaches to the Mediterranean and all engage with Horden and Purcell’s work. The chapters by Harris, Herzfeld and Horden and Purcell (who respond to key early critiques) are particularly stimulating.

⁵⁵ Algazi 2005 230.

⁵⁶ Another relevant concern, which is not picked up by the reviews, is the lack of consideration of language or epigraphy. In numerous sections evidence of language change, spread or death would have been complementary and discussions of how societies represent themselves epigraphically, the spread of script, formulae and choice of monument could have provided further evidence of connectivity across the Mediterranean.

⁵⁷ For issues associated with the concept ‘Mediterraneanism’, see Woolf 2003 126–129. See also Harris 2005b 20–29, Horden and Purcell 2006.

seen as distinctive sub-sets of Mediterraneanization. The term provides, for example, a way of referring to influences from the Italian peninsula before Romanization is an appropriate term⁵⁸ and where Hellenization specifically relates to Greek culture. The Mediterranean *koine*, which is the transmitter of Mediterraneanization, comprises numerous groups, the 'bewildering ethnic variety' mentioned above, including those speaking Etruscan, Italic, Celtic, Greek, Punic, Phoenician and Iberian languages. In less abstract terms, Mediterraneanization involves the spread of a series of features which, taken together, become distinctive and significant. These features include the increased complexity of oleiculture and viticulture, modes of consumption of wine and olive oil, distinctive forms of urbanization, similar political structures,⁵⁹ spread of certain languages and scripts, the epigraphic habit, dedicatory formulae, shared concepts, shared deities and rites, shared myths and legends.⁶⁰ Other communities outside the Mediterranean may, of course, share in some of these features, but it is the clustering of features, their exact nature and the precocity of adoption which distinguish the Mediterranean region.

The term 'Mediterraneanization' cannot be offered without a *caveat*. It is designed to be a useful shorthand, a way to evoke the interconnectivity of the Mediterranean and the resultant 'trans-cultural phenomena'.⁶¹ Mediterraneanization naturally encompasses a multiplicity of processes and the use of the term must not preclude discussion of the intricacies of this diversity. Furthermore, we must be aware in discussing Southern Gaul that the Mediterranean is only one side of story, the impact of influences from Continental Europe, though in some respects perhaps more difficult to identify and understand, may be equally important. This book specifically sets out to interrogate the nature of the interactions between Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean.⁶²

Throughout this book the terms Hellenization, Romanization and Mediterraneanization will be employed, in their 'post-colonial manifestations', to indicate which big-picture processes are under the microscope.

⁵⁸ Italianization would be another option, but is avoided due to its statist overtones.

⁵⁹ See Demetriou 2012 6.

⁶⁰ Note the remarks of Gras 1995a: 'Le Melqart phénicien, l'Héraclès grec, l'Hercule romain . . . seigneur de la Méditerranée' (71); and discussing burial practices: 'malgré toutes les variations, on doit reconnaître une certaine unité culturelle "méditerranéenne"' (121). Woolf (2003) rejects a distinctive 'Mediterranean' religion, stating that 'the most useful units of analysis in the study of ancient religion are either larger or smaller than the Mediterranean world' (140).

⁶¹ Demetriou 2012 5.

⁶² I hope to readdress the balance by looking increasingly towards the North and at Continental interactions in future publications.

In order to understand the modalities and dynamics of the responses to these cultural contacts we will use, where possible, the models of language contact and bilingualism to guide us.

1.3 The role of language in identities and cultural contacts

Sociolinguistics and contact linguistics have for decades been providing us with intriguing insights into the role of language in expressing identities and enabling us to disentangle the intricacies of cultural contacts. The question of how language functions as one of the markers which might be employed in manifestations of identity is naturally of great significance for this study. Language is often recognized by modern scholars as ‘the primary index, or symbol, or register of identity’.⁶³ Linguistic negotiations have been termed ‘acts of identity’⁶⁴ and each speaker is endowed with ‘a “repertoire of identity,” in which any of a multiplicity of identities may be fronted at a particular moment. [...] speakers may index a polyphonous, multilayered identity by using linguistic variables with indexical associations to more than one social category.’⁶⁵ These variables come from a pool of resources (§2.3.2) and, though the focus has often been on bilinguals, we should remember that variations within language also enable monolinguals to possess multiple voices. However, the modern world demonstrates that there is no simple relationship between ethnic or cultural identity and language by furnishing us with widely divergent ethnolinguistic attitudes, ranging from the strength of linguistic ties in indigenous groups in Australia,⁶⁶ to cases where language is not a necessary element in the construction of group identity, for example in Ireland, where many consider themselves to be ethnically Irish but do not speak Irish. No direct equation can be made between ethnicity, culture and language, though all three are deeply entwined.

Despite the centrality of language in expressing identity, most of the sophisticated discussions of identity and ethnicity in the ancient world have been written by archaeologists and historians, with the result that

⁶³ Crystal 2000 40. See also Adams 2003a, Edwards 2009, Fought 2006, Joseph 2004, Myers-Scotton 2006 9, 107–141.

⁶⁴ Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985. ⁶⁵ Barrett 1999 318.

⁶⁶ Australian Aboriginal cultures intimately link land, language and culture: ‘Language is fundamental to cultural identity. This is so for all people everywhere’ (sign in Warradjan Aboriginal Cultural Centre, cited in Thomason 2001 240). See Dixon 2002 for details of languages in Australia. For nationalism and language, see Edwards 1994, 2009 205–224, Haugen 1966 925, 927–930, 933, Myers-Scotton 2006 111–114.

the language component is often restricted to brief observations.⁶⁷ Hall's work stands out as one notable exception in showing how language can play a part in the creation of identities. However, in contradistinction to his treatment of the archaeological and literary material, and despite his warnings to the contrary,⁶⁸ his approach might be attacked for its overly rigid conception of linguistic entities and the abstraction of speakers. Hall (1997) discusses scripts, dialect histories and linguistic theories at length, but absent is any in-depth discussion of the inscriptional evidence. He appreciates that multilingualism is the norm,⁶⁹ but does not discuss bilingualism or bidialectalism in any detail,⁷⁰ nor the linguistic choices and negotiations he rightly proposes are important in constructions of identities.⁷¹ Despite the accolade that his work is 'truly interdisciplinary',⁷² the language element is not fully exploited.⁷³

Another break from the standard offerings on identity and ethnicity is *Rome's cultural revolution* by Wallace-Hadrill, who turns to contact linguistics. Inspired by publications by Adams (2003a) and Swain (2002) on bilingualism, and especially code-switching (the phenomenon of switching between languages within one utterance or text), he argues that 'bilingualism is at least as interesting a model as fusion or creolisation' for understanding cultural interaction, and that 'the Roman world produces no evidence of Creole languages, but abundant evidence of bilingualism and code-switching'.⁷⁴ Wallace-Hadrill's support of the model of bilingualism derives from his view that an individual did not need to be Greek or Roman or native, nor a fusion, but could be all three at the same time (consider the *tria corda* of Ennius or Favorinus (§9.2)). He considers that other models (§1.2), including even hybridization, assume a replacement of old identities with new. 'The alternative model of bilingualism, or rather multilingualism, points the way to other possibilities: of populations that can sustain

⁶⁷ These often include the citation of Herodotus' paradigmatic statement: τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν δμαϊμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἥθεά τε ὁμότροπα 'Greekness is common descent and language, and the shared worship of the gods and sacrifices and the similarities in our way of life' (8.144).

⁶⁸ Hall 1997 179, 181. ⁶⁹ Hall 1997 178.

⁷⁰ For brief mentions, Hall 1997 172, 178, 2002 113–115.

⁷¹ Hall 1997 181. ⁷² Goldhill 2003 306, also Hall *et al.* 1998 266.

⁷³ Hall is also attacked by Silk (2009) for failing 'to take full account of the issues of language in archaic and early classical Greece' (12). Silk argues that the composite epic dialect was 'a pan-Hellenic point of reference', and that this 'implies a *de facto* perception of Greek as a common language from, say, the early seventh century' (16), see also Rochette 1997–1998.

⁷⁴ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 13.

simultaneously diverse culture-systems, in full awareness of their difference, and code-switch between them.⁷⁵

Anthropology, archaeology and linguistics have, of course, had a long association.⁷⁶ The current interest in studies of language contact is merely the most recent example of archaeologists, anthropologists and others looking to linguistic theory and practice for concepts, models and data to use in their analyses. Wallace-Hadrill proceeds with caution, however, careful to clarify that just because linguistic negotiations might operate in a certain way, other aspects of identity, such as material culture, need not correlate: 'it is only a possible model, a hypothesis to evaluate'.⁷⁷

Wallace-Hadrill's hypothesis aims to ensure that we do not see identities as an 'either/or', but rather that we understand that 'the power of multiple identities lies in their strategic deployment in diverse contexts'.⁷⁸ In contrast to some other attempts to adopt theories and models from linguistics in other disciplines, the chosen model of bilingualism and code-switching seems to be successful, not least because proper attention has been paid to the origins of the terms.⁷⁹

Wallace-Hadrill has set us on an intriguing path, which will demand more research and detailed interrogation in years to come. I wonder, for example, why he zoomed in on code-switching but did not play with the two other main bilingual phenomena, interference and borrowing (defined and discussed in detail in Chapter 3). If we are to pursue the bilingualism model as a way of approaching material culture we need to look at all its components, not just a selection. Indeed, it is relatively easy to see how interference and borrowing could be applied to material culture. To take two banal examples, we might categorize tea in British society, at least in some contexts, as a borrowing; it has been adopted in one culture system from another and functions in the recipient system as a native element, i.e. it is thoroughly integrated. As an example of interference, we could imagine an effort to drink wine in Greek fashion in the Iron Age by non-Greek communities. These might take on the drinking paraphernalia and the wine, but through lack of full knowledge of the culture of Greek wine-drinking, drink the wine unmixed as they might their own beverages; this

⁷⁵ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 27–28.

⁷⁶ See Hodder 1989 for a view from a post-processual perspective. Wallace-Hadrill highlights that Varro in *De lingua Latina* (8.27–32) makes an explicit comparison between the *consuetudo*, 'normal practice', of spoken language and material culture (2008 67–68).

⁷⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 77. ⁷⁸ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 85.

⁷⁹ Whilst the opening three chapters of *Rome's cultural revolution* present an exemplary interdisciplinary analysis of 'bilingual identity' (2008 75), the following chapters, though offering very occasional references to bilingualism (e.g. on page 123), lose the linguistic angle.

demonstrates the unintentional transfer of practices from the local culture system when attempting to engage in another.

The code-switching model itself could perhaps have been pushed even further. Should we not also consider the sub-categories, which are so familiar to linguists, of inter-/intra-/tag-switching, or of ‘emblematic’ versus ‘intimate’ (Chapter 3)? How could these be applied to the analysis of archaeological material and visual culture? The details of this need to be worked out carefully, but elsewhere I have presented the iconography of the Barates monument from South Shields (*RIB* I 1065) as possibly suitable for an intra-sentential code-switching analysis.⁸⁰ Archaeologists are just starting to experiment with code-switching to see to which level(s) of analysis it might apply, whether that of single objects, assemblages, sites, regions or empires, and whether it can be extended to refer to switching between other forms of identity, for example gender-based identities, rather than just culture systems (‘Greek’, ‘Roman’, ‘Etruscan’ and so on).⁸¹ Gardner-Chloros, a modern linguist, is also currently investigating whether the concept might work beyond the purely linguistic sphere by looking at visual culture, and particularly at the work of bilingual artists. Of specific significance for us is her reformulation of Hölscher’s analysis of the Augustan *Ara pacis* in code-switching terms.⁸² Hölscher (2004) presents a vision of Roman art where the formulae are derived from Greek art types of different periods and are used for key themes and messages (for example, Classical Greek style is used to depict Roman *dignitas* and *auctoritas*). We are in the realm of the language of imagery and of visual communication. Hölscher strews his text with linguistic terminology (‘vocabulary’, ‘syntax’, ‘grammar’), though not always in a particularly convincing way and he does not exploit sociolinguistics. He describes the Imperial procession of the great frieze of the *Ara pacis* as of Classical Greek style,⁸³ whilst the sacrificial procession depicted on the small frieze is of Hellenistic type.⁸⁴ Gardner-Chloros hints that this style-switching within the monument, which conveys different messages, could be akin to inter-sentential code-switching.⁸⁵ Hölscher also describes more intertwined imagery, for example, in the Aeneas relief (landscape,

⁸⁰ Mullen 2012b.

⁸¹ The first workshop of the Artefact Variability, Assemblage Differentiation, and Identity Negotiation Network specifically tackled code-switching in material culture (Copenhagen, November 2011). There have been some recent examples of anthropologists using code-switching as an analytical tool, see Gardner-Chloros 2010 644 for a brief discussion.

⁸² Gardner-Chloros 2010. ⁸³ Hölscher 2004 49–56, 77–78.

⁸⁴ Hölscher 2004 78–81. ⁸⁵ Gardner-Chloros 2010 651–652.

attendant and sow in Hellenistic style, Aeneas in Classical style),⁸⁶ which Gardner-Chloros argues parallels intra-sentential code-switching.⁸⁷

It is quite possible that the use of models from contact linguistics will be consigned to the burgeoning rubbish bin of failed theoretical endeavours – we are mindful of Hannerz’s warning that ‘linguistic sources of inspiration have not always served cultural analysis well, and whenever one takes an intellectual ride on a metaphor, it is essential that one knows where to get off’⁸⁸ – but it is worth consideration. One of the key issues to think through will be the exact relationship between language and material culture. How suited is material culture to linguistic analysis? There are clear similarities between languages and material culture, for example in the way in which they both communicate and express identities, but material culture will not *always* perform these roles, and we often find it very difficult to be sure when it is doing so and which sort of identities it is expressing. Similarly, if we want to stay close to the origins of the linguistic terms, we might need to start identifying material culture with certain ‘culture systems’, i.e. this vessel is ‘Greek’, and this begins to be redolent of the ‘bad old days’ of the culture-historical approach.⁸⁹ We also have to detect intentionality and perhaps instantaneity (for code-switches) in the archaeological record, an unenviable task. We find that often it is only when we have specific textual support commentating on the use of material from different culture systems (as in many of Wallace-Hadrill’s examples), or are engaged with the iconography of funerary reliefs with epigraphic support (as in the Barates example), that we feel on safer ground with these concepts.

Wallace-Hadrill has provided us with another model, that of bilingualism, to describe and explain cultural contact in the ancient world. Only time will tell whether this framework, either as Wallace-Hadrill presents it, or in an expanded form as sketched above, will stand scrutiny and become widespread. If it does, it could potentially fit well with other concepts

⁸⁶ Hölscher 2004 81.

⁸⁷ Gardner-Chloros 2010 652. Indeed the ‘heterogeneous figure-types’ (Classical, Late Classical/Hellenistic, Roman) of the great frieze might also be described as displaying intra-sentential code-switching. Hölscher remarks that they are ‘not placed abruptly side by side but, through the execution of detail, are assimilated to their neighbours’ (2004 77).

⁸⁸ Hannerz 1992 264.

⁸⁹ Modern linguists, however, have recently been talking about code-switching as the ‘plurilingual embodiment of techniques that have equivalents in the monolingual sphere’ (Gardner-Chloros 2009b 112), and they evoke switching occurring between dialects, styles and registers (termed ‘style shifting’). This appreciation that the switched elements need not be the ‘either/or’ of standard languages may make the concept more readily applicable to material culture, in which style-switching is common. A detailed discussion of code-switching in material culture will be published in *HEROM*.

and terminologies which demonstrate close connections between cultural contacts and linguistic phenomena, for example notions of creole cultures and creolization (§2.2.2).

1.4 Interdisciplinary approach

Beyond the conceptual framework, which is itself, of course, a product of cross-disciplinary interaction, the treatment of the material in this book will be, as far as possible, interdisciplinary. This section will explain the mechanics of this approach.

The linguistic evidence discussed here will largely derive from epigraphy, taken in its broadest sense. This includes lapidary inscriptions, which Woolf has described as a ‘device by which individuals could write their public identities into history’ and as a result serve to shape society.⁹⁰ These were often designed to be permanent and positioned to maximize the opportunity for public viewing, creating an arena for dedicators to define and redefine their role and that of others. But other epigraphic types, such as texts on ceramic, lead or wooden tablets, which are less obvious vehicles of identity, must also be considered.

Despite convincing work on its possible contribution to other disciplines,⁹¹ the epigraphic evidence continues to be neglected in more general regional studies.⁹² The main reasons seem to be the lack of training in classical languages and the suspicion that epigraphers are part of a secret club, employing Latin and confusing *sigla*. These factors have perhaps fostered the dangerous notion of text versus artefact. But epigraphic evidence is as much within the remit of archaeologists as grave goods. There should be no dichotomy between texts and artefacts; inscriptional material is also archaeological material.⁹³ We should also, importantly, drop the commonly occurring and unhelpful argument that one or other of the two artificially separated sets of evidence, archaeological and epigraphic, allows more direct access to the people of the past. All ancient evidence presents us with a series of difficulties and mere probabilities, but it is certain that combining all the evidence must take us further than working on sub-categories that we have created ourselves.

⁹⁰ Woolf 1996 39.

⁹¹ Bodel 2001, Bowman and Woolf 1994, Cooley 2002, Humphrey 1991, Woolf 1996, 1998.

⁹² The archaeologist Carroll bemoans the marginalization of the epigraphic record, noting that some of the most rigorous studies of burial sites virtually ignore the inscriptions (2006 20).

⁹³ For this argument, see Carroll 2006 23–24, Edmondson 1999 652, McLean 2002 65–67.

Studying inscriptions used to be central to the classical tradition, though rarely with sufficient archaeological contextualization.⁹⁴ Now, not only do we have access through advances in archaeology to much more epigraphic evidence with excellent contextualizing information, but our knowledge of many ancient languages is also greatly improved. Adams (2003a) attempted to consider all bilingual texts in which Latin is in contact with languages other than Greek and showed that inscriptions yield much linguistic information for language contact that had been overlooked.⁹⁵ One reviewer remarked: ‘there is far more primary evidence available for consideration than was previously recognized, and new standards have been set for comprehensiveness, rigour, and knowledge of linguistic theory in the evaluation of that evidence’.⁹⁶ Adams’s wide-ranging synthesis of bilingual data and identity fills the gap he had identified: ‘as far as *identity* is concerned, there has been much written on the subject in recent years by classicists, but one will look in vain for a serious discussion of the bilingual dimension’.⁹⁷

Nevertheless, linguistic facts can often only lead to linguistic conclusions: only a truly interdisciplinary approach can reduce the scope of interpretations of aspects of the ancient world. Jacobsthal lamented the compartmentalization of disciplines as early as the 1930s: ‘En Provence, malheureusement, tout comme ailleurs, les épigraphistes, les linguistes, les archéologues, suivent des voies différentes pour le plus grand dommage de la science.’⁹⁸ Progress has been relatively slow in the interim.⁹⁹ The onus rests partly on linguists who work on narrow linguistic features, use terminology inaccessible to other disciplines and do not always situate their work. This analysis will attempt to relate archaeological evidence to the full range of linguistic information. This is a method not thoroughly undertaken in Adams’s work,

⁹⁴ Inscriptional evidence is often, understandably, divided into different *corpora* depending on the language. Less defensible is the separation of bi-version bilingual inscriptions (§3.3) between two *corpora*, e.g. *CIL* VIII gives the Latin inscriptions but not the parallel Punic versions (see Millar 1968 131).

⁹⁵ Adams 2003a 31 (see also Dickey 2003 297, Worthington 2004 543). Presumably due to restrictions of space, several Greek–Latin bilingual inscriptions from Southern Gaul were not included. Some bilingual (Latin plus a non-Greek language) texts which might have come within Adams’s chronological limits include: one of the Celtic Bath curse tablets (*Tab. Sulis* 14) which contains Latin (Mullen 2007a) and some of the Latin–Irish (Ogam) bilingual texts from Wales which may date to the late fourth century AD. See McManus 1991 for a guide to Ogam, Sims-Williams 2003 for Ogam inscriptions from Britain.

⁹⁶ Dickey 2003 301. Adams has stimulated debate amongst specialists in contact languages working in departments other than Classics, some of whose conclusions differ slightly from those of Adams.

⁹⁷ Adams 2003a xxi. ⁹⁸ Jacobsthal 1931 209.

⁹⁹ For Southern Gaul, advances in interdisciplinary studies have been made by key scholars such as Bats. A disappointing attempt to contextualize Gaulish inscriptions is that of Provost 2007.

which is primarily a work of linguistic analysis that has justifiably stimulated widespread interest. A more restricted study area than that chosen by Adams will facilitate the interdisciplinary approach, and, through an explanation of how this work is undertaken and the development of models, it is envisaged that this analysis may prove useful for other areas of the ancient world.

Two levels of interdisciplinary analysis are required.¹⁰⁰ The first, contextualizing the individual pieces of epigraphic evidence, involves using information concerning the archaeological details, visual aspect, location and neighbouring inscriptions. Though this might seem obvious, this approach is not always systematically undertaken in linguistic analysis. Recent studies have attempted to set out a theory of practice for this interdisciplinary approach. Particularly convincing is the manifesto *Ancient graffiti in context* (Baird and Taylor 2011a), which urges us to treat ancient graffiti with methodological rigour, accepting that they do not necessarily compare with modern graffiti,¹⁰¹ that the distinction between text and image is largely artificial and that analysis of their ‘dialogues’¹⁰² and of their ‘broader spatial and social environment’¹⁰³ is essential. Evoking a distinctively archaeological technique, Bucking (2012) even suggests that multiple graffiti on the same surface can be viewed stratigraphically and he encourages us to think about the precise location of texts, their measurements, their height from the floor, the light sources and the way in which the multiple texts, writers and readers interact. Essentially these attempts to reconcile ‘word’ and ‘dirt’ are aiming to materialize people (the commissioners, writers and viewers of epigraphic communities) and to understand their interactions. We need to move away from the traditional study of written remains as words *hors contexte* on the pages of volumes created in the modern world, and often restricted to one language and specific material supports, to try to reconstruct the complexity of the ancient realities.

The second level of interdisciplinary analysis requires the use of modern linguistic theory to interpret bilingual texts and phenomena of language contact to uncover the negotiations of identity to which Hall and others cited above refer. Clearly, this entails a number of difficulties, not least that of the discrepancy between the spoken and written word. In interpreting

¹⁰⁰ Leiwo 1994 purports to be an interdisciplinary study of Graeco-Roman Naples, though only the first level of analysis described here is consistently attempted. Furthermore, the study is marred by an ‘oversimplistic equation between language, personal names, and ethnic origin’ (Lomas 1998 410).

¹⁰¹ Producing graffiti today is often viewed as an illicit lower-status practice. In the ancient world it could be the product of the elite and part of literary or political expression; equally though, ancient graffiti can also be the result of non-literates copying, see Baird and Taylor 2011b.

¹⁰² Baird and Taylor 2011b 7. ¹⁰³ Benefiel 2011 24.

this information, models of language contact and community dynamics are paramount. Community dynamics refers to the nature of the settlements under consideration, which includes information about the strength of internal and external interactions and ethnolinguistic vitality. Once decisions have been made about the nature of the inscribing community through this method, the results should be compared with the overall findings of archaeological analysis. One important issue to consider might be a situation in which the archaeological and linguistic analyses elicit different interpretations. This has not as yet arisen, but would pose a challenge to the theory if it did (§10.3). This type of analysis is fledgling and it is hoped that improvements will be made in future research.

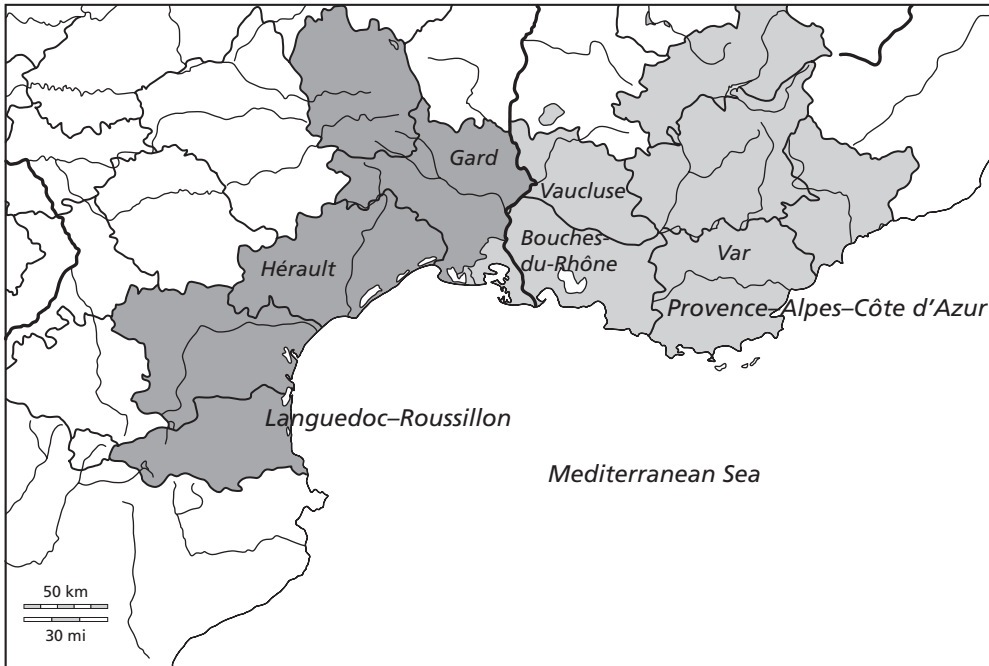
1.5 Southern Gaul

We now move from the generalities of the task at hand to set out the background to the specifics. Southern Gaul will supply the bulk of the evidence for the primarily methodological chapters (2–5) and is the focus of attention for the extended case study in Chapters 6–9. Key preliminaries for an understanding of Southern Gaul will constitute the rest of this chapter: the geographical and temporal limits of the area and its linguistic composition, a brief historical survey and an overview of scholarship.

1.5.1 Space and time

Southern Gaul in this study is Provence and Languedoc, especially the coastal zone and the lower Rhône basin. The *départements* particularly concerned are the Bouches-du-Rhône, Gard, Hérault, Var and Vaucluse, an area linked by a cultural phenomenon in antiquity, namely that Celtic speakers write in Greek script, whether in Gaulish (Gallo-Greek) or Greek (see [Map 1](#)). Following the contours of this cultural phenomenon allows us to avoid arbitrary choices based on modern boundaries or other concerns. Indeed this usage of Greek script is attested either side of a major arterial route, the Rhône, which has often been a boundary for research groups from Provence–Alpes–Côte d’Azur and Languedoc–Roussillon, tending to prevent a global vision of the area.¹⁰⁴ This area of Southern Gaul did not represent a distinct political unit in Greek or Roman terms. Under the

¹⁰⁴ See Dietler 2005 5, 11, Leveau 2004 14.



Map 1 Map of area of study.

constantly evolving boundaries of the Roman period,¹⁰⁵ this region became part of the much larger *Gallia Narbonensis*, a province which covered what is now Provence, Languedoc–Roussillon, Foix, Dauphiné and Savoie and which changed over time in both shape and nomenclature (also known as *Provincia* and *Gallia Transalpina*).

Since languages rarely heed man-made borders (§1.5.2), noteworthy comparative evidence occurring outside the designated area of this study will be considered. This will include most frequently the potting records of La Graufesenque (Millau, Aveyron (Midi-Pyrénées)), which are an invaluable source for language contact in Gaul.¹⁰⁶ The material from the pottery falls loosely into three groups: inscriptions that are mostly Gaulish, those that are mostly Latin, and several which show a mixture of the two languages.

¹⁰⁵ There does not seem to have been a rigidity as to how Roman provinces were delineated. Existing units of population were alternately adhered to or deliberately ignored and only major geographical features may have played a consistently significant role. There are even instances of populations being relocated by the Romans, see Collis 2003 107.

¹⁰⁶ See Marichal 1988 for a comprehensive edition of the graffiti; for comments on linguistic aspects see Adams 2003a 687–724, 2007 281–289, 701–702, Blom 2012a, Flobert 1992 and Mullen forthcoming.

We will see their importance for analysing the bilingual phenomena (Chapter 3) and onomastics (Chapter 5) of a well-defined ‘micro-community’. Other comparative evidence will be introduced from, for example, Emporion (Spain) and Italy. A leitmotif of this investigation will be *multiplicity of influences*. To understand Southern Gaul fully, an integrated approach of all the material from Gaul, nearby islands, North Africa, and the Italian and Iberian peninsulas would be desirable, though beyond the scope of this book.¹⁰⁷ The link explored most fully will be that with the Italian peninsula – an exploration which is demanded by the material itself. The term ‘Italians’ refers throughout to the diverse communities of the Italian peninsula, which in antiquity comprised a large number of speech groups, including speakers of Italic languages (for example Latin, Oscan and Umbrian), Greek and Etruscan, cf. Latin *Italici*.¹⁰⁸

The temporal limits of this survey will also be flexible. The starting point will be the foundation of Massalia (modern Marseille) by the Phokaiaians in c. 600.¹⁰⁹ The inscriptional evidence from the early period is restricted to Greek; written Gaulish appears by the second century. I have left the end-limit – the ‘ascendancy of Latin’ – deliberately vague. The reaction of Gaulish and Greek to the advent of Latin will be analysed and some late non-Christian Latin inscriptions will be of interest in this respect.¹¹⁰ Covering such a large timescale reduces the level of detail possible, but is essential in reconstructing the long-term cultural developments and

¹⁰⁷ Prag forthcoming warns against restricting perspectives to the local response, and also focusing on what is prescribed by the weight of classical tradition, effacing, for example, the contributions of Phoenicians.

¹⁰⁸ See Adams 2007 196.

¹⁰⁹ Various ancient authors, including Thucydides and Pausanias, provide a later date, though pottery finds and other authors, including Pompeius Trogus, support the date of 600, see Morel 2006a 364, Rivet 1988 9, Villard 1992a for details. For ‘précolonisation’, see Benoît 1965 10, Morel 2006a 361, 364. Pre-Massaliote Greek pottery may be the result of mixed cargoes of Etruscan ships, see Morel 1981. The Phoenician presence beforehand was restricted to trade; for Phoenician colonization and the ‘mythe Phénicien’ of early scholarship, see Benoît 1965 17–20. I use the term ‘Phokaian’ to refer to colonists, colonies and so on, which are in some way linked to Phokaia in Asia Minor, whether directly, or via daughter colonies. Others will, in some cases, prefer the term Massaliote, but I am deliberately sidestepping the difficult debate over which colonies are founded directly from Phokaia, and which from Massalia. Since the Massaliotes themselves sometimes fronted a Phokaian identity, I do not see that this is particularly problematic (§8.3.3). Malkin (2011 160–161) highlights the confusion over the terms in the ancient sources and suggests that ‘Phokaian’ may have been used at times to designate all Greeks in the north-western Mediterranean.

¹¹⁰ ‘Christian’ inscriptions are excluded as the issues they raise are somewhat different, and the use of language, e.g. Greek, can be motivated by specific concerns. They are often treated separately in specialist *corpora*, e.g. *RICG* which takes as its end-limit the Carolingian Renaissance.

linguistic phases which can sometimes be overlooked in more restricted studies.

1.5.2 Languages and peoples

Classifying, documenting and describing ancient linguistic entities is no straightforward task. This is partly because ‘living, spoken languages are networks of continua, lacking clearly demarcated boundaries between their different varieties, whether geographical or social’.¹¹¹ The complexity of linguistic situations means that even the categorization of speech varieties into languages and dialects has elicited debate and can be shown to be based on a mixture of linguistic and socio-political criteria.¹¹² When communities are created, or imagined,¹¹³ the boundaries can be dependent on a range of factors, and sometimes envelop several speech communities, or cut across language groups.¹¹⁴ Except in cases of draconian policy, strong community resistance or extreme isolation, languages do not tend to follow man-made borders,¹¹⁵ and multilingualism can be one key vector in language spread and change.

Southern Gaul is a fertile area for a study into ancient multilingualism. Four major, broadly classifiable linguistic entities are attested: Latin, Greek, Gaulish, Iberian and one (virtually) unattested language is thought to have been spoken, namely Ligurian (see below). These interact both with each other and with ‘visitor’ languages, through settlement and/or trade: Semitic languages (Phoenician and Punic),¹¹⁶ Celtic languages (Lepontic, Cisalpine Gaulish, Celtiberian),¹¹⁷ Italic languages (for example, Oscan)

¹¹¹ Clackson and Horrocks 2007 78.

¹¹² See Haugen 1966 for an early account and Myers-Scotton 2006 16–34 for a recent overview, see also p. 139 n. 86. Myers-Scotton notes that ‘salience of ethnicity takes precedence over mutual intelligibility’ (21).

¹¹³ Anderson 1991 is an influential discussion of the construction of ‘imagined communities’.

¹¹⁴ See Myers-Scotton 2006 373–375 for the role of borders.

¹¹⁵ For instances of geographical barriers leading to linguistic isolation, see Myers-Scotton 2006 32. See Adams 2007 705–708 for a discussion of regional variation in Latin crossing political or geographical boundaries and the factors encouraging such crossing.

¹¹⁶ For Phoenician and Punic inscriptions in the West (Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, Spain), see Amadasi Guzzo 1967; none originates from Southern Gaul (p.c.).

¹¹⁷ The only evidence of the Lugano alphabet (used to write Lepontic and Cisalpine Gaulish) in Transalpine Gaul is the enigmatic so-called Padane drachma, see Bats 1988a 131, 141–142, 2000 75–76, 2003a 374 note 10, Deroc 1983, Häussler 2002 62–63, 2008 57–59, and possibly an inscription on Campanian A ware from Baou de Saint-Marcel: (*oidsa(i)*), see Bats 1988a 141–142. Celtiberian appears in an inscription from Gruissan (South-western Gaul) (*MLH* IV K.17.1), probably as a result of trade.

and Etruscan.¹¹⁸ With languages edited in separate volumes, it is crucial not to lose sight of the multilingual picture and the influence of contact cultures.¹¹⁹

Constrained somewhat by convention, I use the well-established terms ‘Gallo-Greek’ for Gaulish written in Greek script and similarly ‘Gallo-Latin’ for Gaulish in Roman script. Gaulish refers to the variety of Celtic spoken in Gaul, and should be recognized as a convenient shorthand which belies the largely irrecoverable linguistic regional diversity. It should be noted at the outset that the terms ‘Gallo-Greek’ and ‘Gallo-Latin’ could be misleading; the languages involved are not part Greek or Latin, but Celtic (see §1.2 for my use of this term).

Also problematic for this study is the presence of anepigraphic groups in the archaeological record, no doubt a relatively common occurrence in the ancient world.¹²⁰ The argument that the absence of texts in Southern Gaul to the east of Massalia (§4.2.1) is due to the anepigraphic ‘Ligurian speakers’ cannot be verified.¹²¹ These so-called Ligurians remain an enigma in linguistic terms and are occasionally cited to account for any linguistic developments which are not easily explicable.¹²² Linguists have sometimes assigned scraps to them, for example elements of the onomastic record, but these are now generally thought to be a form of Celtic.¹²³ So we should be cautious in talking about a ‘Ligurian’ language in Southern Gaul. We have next to no evidence for it, which is not to say that it did not exist, but we will

¹¹⁸ Colonna 1980 and Py 1995 discuss Etruscan inscriptions (in South-Etruscan script) from Lattes, including one which seems to consist of an Etruscan version of a Celtic name in the genitive: *Ucial* (fifth century). See Colonna 1980 and Gran-Aymerich 2006 for recent *recueils* of Etruscan inscriptions from Gaul (Lattes, Marseille, Pech Maho, Saint-Blaise), see also Briquel *et al.* 2006 for the Massaliote examples. Two fragmentary fifth-century graffiti from Béziers have been reanalysed as being in Etruscan script, see Bats 2011 204–205. De Hoz has also recently reinterpreted a fourth-century inscription from Ensérune as being a Celtic personal name, *Smeraz*, in North-Etruscan (but not Lepontic) script. It was previously considered to be in Iberian script (*MLH* II B.1.2B), see De Hoz 2008.

¹¹⁹ Woolf 1994b 85 note 7 makes the important (but inaccurate) point that the remit of *RIG* is the Celtic inscriptions from France (with the exception of some texts from Italy) and bemoans the restriction to national boundaries. Indeed, texts clearly do not follow the boundaries of modern nations, but it should be clarified that *RIG*’s remit (*RIG* I vii–x) is the publication of Gaulish material, which concerns largely, but not exclusively, Gaul, which is not the same as modern France.

¹²⁰ See the comments at Millar 1968 126–127.

¹²¹ See, for example, Dietler 2010 71.

¹²² Often when obscure features and intractable linguistic problems occur in epigraphic records, they are assigned to the influence of unattested languages, though clearly this is an argument *ex silentio* and must only be a last resort.

¹²³ See Barruol 1969 135–165, Correa 1993, *DAG* pages 26–27, 40–41, 77–80, Py 1993 41–42, Schmoll 1959, Untermann 1969a, 1969b, 1992.

need a good deal more of it before we can be sure that it merits a separate designation ‘Ligurian’ rather than ‘Gaulish’, for example.

We must remember that the modern appellation ‘Ligurian’ for peoples in Southern Gaul is based on external perceptions of the populations around the Mediterranean as described in Graeco-Roman texts. These texts do not make it easy for the researcher: the use of the term differs even between contemporary ancient authors, evolves over time and its semantic content (geographical, ethnographical or both?) is sometimes difficult to pin down.¹²⁴ The early use of Greek ‘Λίγυες’ seems to refer in general terms to ‘barbarians’ in the north-western coastal area, centred on Gaul but extending, depending on the author, to the east and west. By the second century, Polybius Ligurians extend to Pisa, and the Ligurians of South-western Gaul have become ‘Celts’. The term ‘Ligurian’ under Roman dominion is eventually restricted to a population group in the Maritime Alpine and Apennine region (the Augustan *regio IX*). Clearly, ethnographic awareness of the hinterland of Gaul must have increased since the time of Hecataeus and others, but it is unclear to what degree the changes in definition are the result of changes in the describers’ view and/or changing circumstances of the populations being described. Matters are further complicated by the existence of the Greek term ‘Cello-Ligurian’ which Strabo (4.6.3) claims was applied to groups such as the Σάλλυες/*Salluvii*. In Bats’s view, this term would have been employed in the period between the middle of the second century and the Roman conquest. In modern popular mentality this designation ‘Cello-Ligurian’ has tended to become a separate (hybrid) ethnicity in its own right.¹²⁵ But we should be careful not to make this connection too lightly. The ancient use of the term *may* have indicated awareness that an indigenous (Celtic-speaking?) population group, for example, had become intermingled with other Celtic-speaking groups, but it might equally represent an attempt to specify the ‘Ligurians’ under examination, i.e. the ‘Ligurians’ of Κελτική (the Greek word for Gaul),¹²⁶ rather than those barbarians sometimes designated as ‘Ligurian’ further round the coast in the Italian and Iberian peninsulas.

In the absence of clear guidelines from the Graeco-Roman textual sources, no indigenous texts and the lack of a Ligurian language which can be securely identified in Southern Gaul, we are restricted to archaeological information in reconstructing the nature of the population. In the South

¹²⁴ See Bats 2003b for a survey of the Ligurians and Σάλλυες in Greek literature.

¹²⁵ All three terms (Celtic, Ligurian and Cello-Ligurian) have been discussed extensively in the modern literature, see Collis 2003 98–107, García 2004 13–25, 2006 for overviews.

¹²⁶ See Py 2003.

of France towards the end of the Bronze Age there is, generally speaking, a relative homogeneity of material culture. Increased contacts between the communities of the Midi and northerly and Mediterranean communities resulted in more pronounced local variation during the Iron Age. However, these patterns do not fit neatly into two and no diagnostic features can be securely posited to enable archaeologists to distinguish ‘Celtic’ and ‘Ligurian’ sites.¹²⁷ Though zones of similar material culture have been identified in the archaeological record, as we shall see,¹²⁸ we should be wary of attributing these zones to ethnic identities using ‘etic’ nomenclature which we do not fully understand and which may never have tallied with ‘emic’ ethnic identities.

One sensitive attempt to order the complexity of regional variation by splitting the Iron Age sites of Southern Gaul into zones of distinctive material culture has been made by Py, who groups the settlements into three zones: ‘Ibéro-Languedocien’ (western Languedoc and Roussillon), ‘Rhodanien’ (the lower Rhône basin) and ‘Ligure’ (eastern Provence), each displaying some distinctive features.¹²⁹ Generally speaking, commentators find these zones useful to work with, understanding that they are modern constructs and that the complexity within these areas should not be overlooked. Verdin has presented a helpful summary of some of the key differences in material culture between the lower Rhône basin and eastern Provence, including fortifications, public buildings, statuary, funerary practices and ceramics.¹³⁰ She argues that these differences are due to two factors: the patterns of Massaliote interests, which were focused in more constructive rather than defensive manner on the Rhône basin than in the hinterland of the colony itself,¹³¹ and internal cultural differences which can be directly mapped onto language.¹³² However, it should now be clear not only that culture and language cannot be uncritically equated but also that the characterization of the linguistic landscape as ‘Celtic’ in the lower Rhône basin, ‘Iberian’ in western Languedoc and Roussillon and ‘Ligurian’ in eastern Provence is a vast oversimplification.¹³³ We know, for example, that Celtic-speaking communities populate western Languedoc and Roussillon (some of whom

¹²⁷ See Garcia 2006 66–67.

¹²⁸ The material culture of the Midi naturally resists simple division into neat groupings, and Garcia talks of ‘six grands ensembles’ emerging in the Bronze Age to Iron Age transition which ‘vont durer pendant tout l’âge du Fer’ (2004 48), as opposed to the three which we discuss above.

¹²⁹ Py 1993 29–41, 2003 309. ¹³⁰ Verdin 1998.

¹³¹ See, for example, Arcelin 2003. ¹³² Verdin 1998 32–35.

¹³³ Dietler also presents this oversimplification, for example in his map of the distribution of material culture regions and language groups of Mediterranean Gaul (2010 Fig. 4.1).

speak Iberian as a *lingua franca*) and that the Ligurian language is at best poorly attested and may well be Celtic.

The Iberian inscriptions, which extend from Iberia to the river Hérault in Southern Gaul, represent one linguistic aspect of the region not treated here in detail.¹³⁴ Iberian, a non-Indo-European language, is, like Etruscan, deciphered (the script used most commonly derives from Phoenician) but remains mostly incomprehensible. We purport to understand some individual lexemes, based largely on the context of the attestations and help from Basque, whose ancestor language is thought to be related to Iberian, but the language as a whole is obscure. Numerous publications exist on very specific aspects, such as the function of individual signs in the semi-syllabary and the identification and interpretation of elements of morphology. As regards South-western Gaul, the consensus is that the vast majority of the Iberian inscriptions contain only names.¹³⁵ In this area the most prolific site is Ensérune (371 inscriptions in *MLH* II, easily more than all the other sites put together), apparently a multicultural indigenous site and a centre for storage and trade.¹³⁶ De Hoz has repeatedly argued that Iberian may have functioned as a *lingua franca* in the area rather than as a language of resident groups.¹³⁷ Research is currently in progress to analyse the Iberian inscriptions in their archaeological context and should provide further information to help to answer this claim.¹³⁸ It is perfectly possible that different sites in the area may have had different responses to Iberian traders: for example, Ensérune may not have had a resident Iberian community (many Celtic names have been identified in the Iberian inscriptions) whereas Pech Maho, the second most prolific site with thirty-seven inscriptions, may (few Celtic names have been identified). Untermann's claim that the lack of Iberian names in later Latin epigraphy from the same region suggests that the Iberian community was never 'une composante structurelle de la

¹³⁴ See *MLH* II pages 36–37 for the distribution. For the inscriptions, see *MLH* II, and for updates, De Hoz and Luján 2001, Moncunill Martí 2007 399–404, Untermann 2002, Velaza Frías 2006 303. See Simkin 2012 for a guide to multilingualism in ancient Spain and Portugal.

¹³⁵ For discussion of the names, see Correa 1993 and Untermann 1969a, 1969b. Western Languedoc provides two (one of which is repeated on two vessels) possible fourth-century examples of Celtic/Iberian names in Greek script (at Peyriac-de-Mer and Ensérune), see Bats 2011 210.

¹³⁶ For Ensérune, see Bellet 2003, Jannoray 1955, Schwaller 1999.

¹³⁷ Most recently, De Hoz 2009, 2011. Both Py (2003 305) and Untermann (1992 26–27) suggest that Iberian-speaking groups were in Southern Gaul for economic reasons and did not ever constitute a significant part of the local resident population.

¹³⁸ This work is being undertaken by Coline Ruiz Darasse (for a preliminary discussion, see Ruiz Darasse 2009).

population' cannot be accepted lightly.¹³⁹ There are at least three other possible interpretations of the evidence: that Iberian settlers had been resident but moved away under the early Empire, that Iberian settlers had been and continued to be resident but were not involved in the Roman epigraphic habit or that those 'Iberians' involved in the epigraphic habit had enthusiastically taken on Latin names, thus masking their origins.

1.5.3 A brief history of Southern Gaul

From 600 to the creation of Gallo-Greek

Southern Gaul was connected with the whole Mediterranean basin long before Phokaian colonization and displays complex interactions throughout its history.¹⁴⁰ The Etruscans were an early trading force in the Mediterranean arena, whose activity in Southern Gaul started in the seventh century and only reduced with increasing Massaliote production and trade in the late sixth and fifth centuries.¹⁴¹ During the first half of the sixth century, approximately twenty-five per cent of the fine wares and ninety per cent of the amphorae at Massalia itself were Etruscan.¹⁴² Whilst the Etruscan presence seems to have largely involved ship-based trade, some sites may have had enclaves of resident traders, most notably the port settlement Lattara (Lattes).¹⁴³ Similarly, the Phoenicians had been making their presence

¹³⁹ Untermann 1992 26–27.

¹⁴⁰ The starting point of 600 is somewhat arbitrary, as 'la fondation de Marseille, vers 600 av. J.-C., nous apparaît ainsi, non comme le début et la cause première des explorations phocéennes dans la Méditerranée occidentale, mais tout au contraire comme le dernier terme et l'aboutissement de tentatives commencées ailleurs, c'est-à-dire en Espagne' (Benoît 1965 31). For trading (Phoenician, Punic, Phokaian, Rhodian and Etruscan) pre 600, see Benoît 1965 29–40, Py 1993 45. For a detailed synthesis of both this period and part of the next, see Py 1993; his divisions are the sixth to fifth and fourth to second centuries. See §6.4.1 for Phokaia.

¹⁴¹ On the Etruscans in Southern Gaul see, for instance, Bats 1998, Camporeale 2001 78–101, Cristofani 1985 (especially chapters by Bouloumié, Jehasse, Py), Dietler 1997 277–279, 2005 41–47, 2010 94–104, Gori and Bettini 2006, Gran-Aymerich 2006, Gras 1985, 2004, Landes *et al.* 2003, Long, Pomey and Sourisseau 2002, Morel 1981, Py 1985.

¹⁴² Bats 1996 577. See Gantès 1992b for a discussion of levels of locally produced and imported ceramics at Marseille from 600 to 100.

¹⁴³ Etruscan graffiti and cookware have been found at the site, Dietler 2010 97–100, see Dietler and Py 2003, Py 1995 and the journal *Lattara*. Continuing excavation and analysis should shed further light on the nature of the Etruscan presence. Excavation in 2010 at La Cougourlude (1 kilometre to the north-east of Lattes) has uncovered an Iron Age settlement abandoned around 475 with inscriptions in Etruscan letters in the area with the densest concentration of Etruscan amphorae, mirroring the finds at Lattes (information presented by Isabelle Daveau and Michel Py at the *Colloque international d'archéologie*, 15–18 September 2011 at Hyères). Though the evidence is less convincing, Saint-Blaise has also been assigned possible Etruscan origins, see Bouloumié 1982, as has Tamaris, see Py 1993 86. Etruscan

felt throughout the Mediterranean for centuries before the foundation of Massalia, establishing a series of colonies and trading posts in North Africa, Sicily and Sardinia, before taking root in Southern Spain.¹⁴⁴ From the sixth century onwards the major Phoenician colony in the West, Carthage, became the main focus of power for the western Phoenician colonies, now ‘Punic’ colonies. Phoenico-Punic material, and its Iberian versions, appears in Southern Gaul in the seventh and the sixth centuries in smaller quantities than Etruscan material, and little is known about the activity of this colonial power in the area.¹⁴⁵ Of course, Greeks too had begun their colonization in Southern Italy in the eighth century.¹⁴⁶ Seventh-century material from Southern Gaul, such as ‘Rhodian oinochoai’ (possibly of Etruscan origin), found, for example, in the *tumulus* d’Agnel, Pertuis (Vaucluse),¹⁴⁷ and the Greek-style pottery, especially Proto-Corinthian and imitation Proto-Corinthian pottery found at various sites in the region, for example from the indigenous necropoleis of Mailhac (Aude) and Peyrou (Agde, Hérault),¹⁴⁸ cannot be easily associated with the Phokaiaians and prompted Graham to state that it is ‘unlikely that the Phocaeans were solely responsible for the pre-colonial trade’.¹⁴⁹ The role of non-Phokaian Greeks was no doubt significant in the pre-colonial period.

Phokaian expansion started late compared with other Greek colonial activity, but lasted several centuries.¹⁵⁰ The earliest known Phokaian colony, Lampsacus (Lapseki), is in the East and was possibly founded around 615.¹⁵¹

graffiti and high levels of cookware and tableware clustered in certain areas of Massalia has also led some to consider the presence of Etruscan quarters, see Dietler 2010 140 for details.

¹⁴⁴ See Aubet 2001 for Phoenicians in the West in the eighth to sixth centuries.

¹⁴⁵ For Phoenico-Punic activity in Southern Gaul, which seems to have been more significant in the Western zone, see Dietler 1997 289–291, 336, 2010 7, Py 1993 44–45, 88.

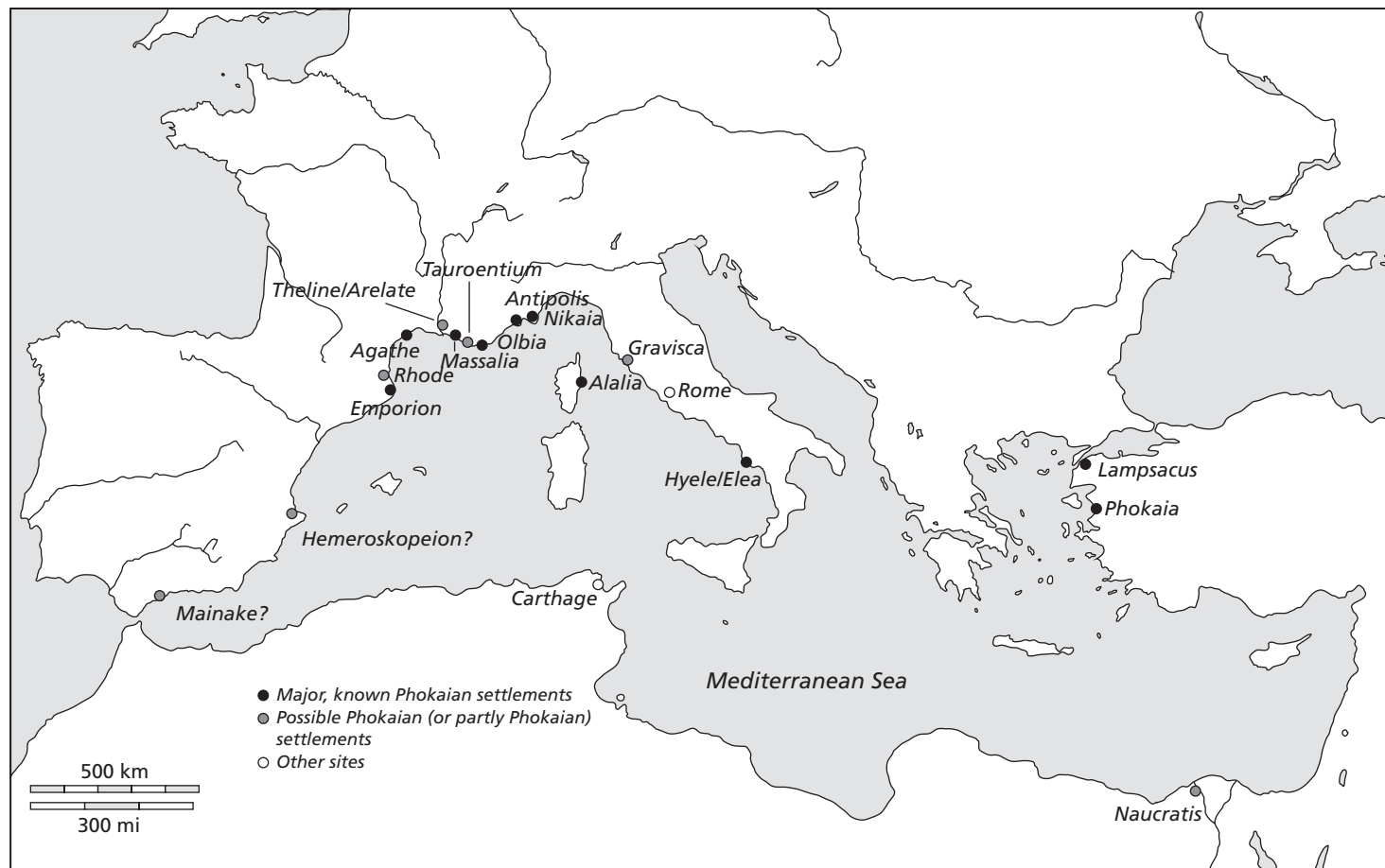
¹⁴⁶ Scholars of colonization have highlighted the importance of early explorations of regions, the range of motivations and types of settlement formed, seeing many instances of colonization not as one-off events, but part of long-term processes of mobility and settlement. For colonization, see Antonaccio 2005, Bresson and Rouillard 1993, Burgers 2004, Dominguez 2004, Hodos 1999, 2006, Hurst and Owen 2005, Malkin 1998, 2002, 2004, 2011, Morel 1984, Purcell 2005. The term *colony* used here must be viewed as a shorthand to refer to the myriad forms of Greek settlements in non-Greek territory and should not be associated unquestioningly with conceptions of modern colonization or even Roman *colonia*. See Osborne 1998, who argues that the term should be excluded from discussions of the eighth and seventh centuries.

¹⁴⁷ Lescure 2003. ¹⁴⁸ Nickels, Marchand and Schwaller 1989, Nickels *et al.* 1981.

¹⁴⁹ Graham 1990 60.

¹⁵⁰ See Morel 2006a 371–377 for possible reasons behind the colonization.

¹⁵¹ For Phokaian colonies in the East, see Morel 2006a 360–361. For Phokaian colonization in general, see Morel 1966, 1975, 1982, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1995, 2006a, 2006 [2009].



Map 2 Map of Phokaian colonization.

Phokaia soon focused its attention on the west and many colonies, *epite-ichismata* (Strabo 4.1.5) or substantial trading posts were created in Southern Gaul, Spain, Corsica and Italy following the foundation of Massalia (see [Map 2](#)). Settlements of significance are Agathe (Agde, the end of the fifth century),¹⁵² Antipolis (Antibes, date unknown),¹⁵³ Nikaia (Nice, date unknown),¹⁵⁴ Olbia (Hyères, c. 340),¹⁵⁵ Tauroentium (Le Brusc, the end of the third century), Theline (Arles, possibly the late sixth century),¹⁵⁶ Emporion (Empúries, Spain, the early sixth century),¹⁵⁷ Alalia (Aléria, Corsica, c. 565)¹⁵⁸ and Hyele/Elea/Ele (Velia, Italy, c. 540).¹⁵⁹ In several cases archaeological research is hampered by later occupation and the context and date of the foundations are poorly known.¹⁶⁰ All these settlements are either coastal or fluvial, underlining the maritime focus of the colonization (Strabo 4.1.5).¹⁶¹ Lepore (1970) has suggested that other features characterize the

¹⁵² See Morel 2006a 389–390, Nickels 1982, 1995 for Agde. There had possibly been a Greek presence at La Monédière, Bessan (north of Agde) at the end of the sixth century, see Nickels 1976, 1989.

¹⁵³ See Morel 2006a 390 for Antipolis.

¹⁵⁴ The traditional third-century dating is based on literary sources and has been called into question by archaeologists who are seeking to understand the chronology of Nikaia and the existence of an earlier indigenous phase. Similarly, excavation at Antibes is providing evidence for the development of the settlement (perhaps originally indigenous, then Greek). For these matters, see Bats 1990c 221, 223, Gras 2003.

¹⁵⁵ See Morel 2006a 390–391 for Olbia. Key publications on the site include Bats 1988c and 2006.

¹⁵⁶ See Arcelin 1995, Morel 2006a 392 for Arles. The general chronology appears to be as follows: a commercial port with a strong Greek presence 530–500 (Theline), ‘installation de type colonial’ 500–425/400, vast mixed non-colonial settlement 400–175, Roman colony (Arelate), see Arcelin 2003 133.

¹⁵⁷ Traditionally dated to around 600, the foundation date has been lowered to around 570, see Morel 2006a 367. For Emporion, see Aquilué *et al.* 2010, Demetriou 2012 24–63, Domínguez 2006, Morel 2006a 399–401. Other possible Massaliote/Emporitan/Phokaian settlements in Spain are Mainake (in Malaga, but not yet identified securely), Hemeroskopeion and Rhode (close to Emporion, though the possibility of Rhodian origins has been raised; see Puig Griessenberger 2010 for the view that this is a fourth-century Massaliote settlement). See Domínguez 2002 for Greek colonialism without colonization in Iberia.

¹⁵⁸ The nature and development of Alalia is still poorly understood. The assertion that Alalia is replaced by the Etruscan settlement Nikaia (Gras 1995a 169, D.S. 5.12) must be treated with caution; Jehasse and Jehasse (1973, 1979, 1982, 2001) offer more complex interpretations, see also Morel 2006a 402, 404, 414.

¹⁵⁹ See Lomas 1993, Morel 1999, 2006a 405–408, 415, 2006b, 2006 [2009] for Hyele.

¹⁶⁰ Twenty years of research into the origins of Béziers culminated in an exhibition at the Musée Biterrois (Ugolini and Olive 2006). The argument that Béziers may have been a Greek city is a warning of the incomplete nature of our knowledge, though see Py 1993 120 for a sceptical view. For possible Rhodian colonization, see Benoît 1965 29–30, also Gras 1995a 39.

¹⁶¹ The Phokaiaians may well have formed part of the community at Gravisca (Italy), though their exact role is unclear, see Haack 2007, Torelli 1982. The Phokaiaians also seem to have been part of the founding group at Naucratis (Egypt), as reported by Herodotus (2.178) and supported by archaeological finds (Lloyd 1988 225). For the mixed Greek foundation at Naucratis, see Malkin 2011 81–93.

foundations, including a limited *chora*, the fundamental role of *emporion* and conservative constitutions, though clearly it is impossible to tell in many cases. The view that several Phokaian colonies had ‘no hinterland’ has now been rejected given the results from modern surveying techniques.¹⁶²

Massalia was founded by the Phokaiaians around 600 and, as with all major Greek settlements, possesses a suitable foundation myth.¹⁶³ This is known largely through two sources, Aristotle and Pompeius Trogus, and whilst the details vary, the main force is that the daughter of the local king, Gyptis/Petta, chooses a Phokaian Greek sailor, Protis/Euxenos, to be her husband.¹⁶⁴ Her father then gives him land on which to build his colony. Recent excavations are shedding light on the nature of early Massalia. Though little is known about the site before the establishment of the colony, finds of local handmade pottery and houses with load-bearing posts from its earliest phases have led some to estimate the local presence at around twenty per cent.¹⁶⁵

Determining the extent of the Massaliote hinterland poses considerable methodological issues, and, though no geographical limits can be established, the *chora* is thought to have been smaller than traditionally supposed, and only expanded under the Romans, who later forced its reduction in 49.¹⁶⁶ The series of indigenous revolts, unrest, evidence for destruction of some indigenous settlements and the eventual call by Massaliotes for Roman protection in the second century suggest that the relationship between the Greek settlements and hinterland was changing, distrusting and complex.¹⁶⁷ Reported early attacks by indigenous groups include the revolt soon after the foundation of Massalia and the aborted siege by Catumandus in the early fourth century.¹⁶⁸ Junianus Justinus reports that, after the former, the Massaliotes took extra precautions:

exinde Massilienses festis diebus portas claudere, uigilias agere, stationes in muris obseruare, peregrinos recognoscere, curas habere, ac ueluti bellum habeant, sic urbem pacis temporibus custodire (43.4.11)

¹⁶² See Demetriou 2012 37–39.

¹⁶³ See Dougherty 1993 for key recurring features of these myths.

¹⁶⁴ The name Gyptis cannot be easily interpreted as Celtic, despite Dietler’s comments (2010 25, 80).

¹⁶⁵ For example, Villard 1992b 447, see also Gantès 1992a 72–75, Morel 2006a 365–366. For some cautious remarks, see Bernard, Collin-Bouffier and Tréziny 2010 132. Marseille seems to have produced its own cookware only in the fourth century, see Dietler 2010 233–234.

¹⁶⁶ For the Massaliote *chora*, see, for instance, Bats and Tréziny 1986. New investigations are bringing to light evidence for ‘l’attention que les Massaliètes ont portée très tôt à leur terroir’ (Tréziny 2006b 528), see Tréziny 2006b 525–528, Boissinot 2010.

¹⁶⁷ See Bernard, Collin-Bouffier and Tréziny 2010. ¹⁶⁸ See Rivet 1988 11.

From that time onwards, during festivals the Massaliotes closed their gates, kept watch, posted sentinels on the walls, checked outsiders, took precautions and guarded their city in peace-time as if they were at war.

Other important historically attested events closely linked to the early period of the colonial adventures include the Persian seizure of Phokaia in c. 545, which must have resulted in the arrival of numerous refugees in the West, and the Battle of Alalia (540–535), a Cadmean victory of the Phokaiaians over the combined Carthaginian and Etruscan forces, which led to the foundation of Hyele in Italy.¹⁶⁹ The expansion of Massalia after 540 has sometimes been associated with these events.¹⁷⁰

Trade between the colonial Greeks and indigenous communities in Southern Gaul fluctuates between periods and sites, no doubt at least in part a result of changing socio-political relations.¹⁷¹ In the early sixth century, trade was restricted to a handful of sites in the hinterland of Massalia and Bessan¹⁷² and Massalia probably ‘survived through its membership of a Phocaean commercial network encompassing the Mediterranean as a whole’.¹⁷³ A turning point came in the second half of the sixth century when the Etruscan wine supply waned and Massalia began producing its own wine. Trade to indigenous sites of its wine amphorae and Attic and Massaliote wares increased dramatically,¹⁷⁴ and even extended to the ‘Fürstentum’ of the Hallstatt zone.¹⁷⁵ In return for wine-related goods, the growing Phokaian colony required cereals (amongst other things) from its indigenous neighbours, since its agricultural potential was relatively small. A second major change began between 450 and 400 with the demise of the ‘Fürstentum’

¹⁶⁹ These episodes are some of the most debated of Phokaian history, see §8.3.3 for further discussion.

¹⁷⁰ See, for example, Shefton 1994 79 note 33.

¹⁷¹ See Bats 1990a for the example of eastern Provence.

¹⁷² See Bats 1992b 268–271. ¹⁷³ Morel 2006a 366.

¹⁷⁴ See Bats 1992b 271–273. For Massaliote amphorae, see Bats 1990b, Bertucchi 1992. See Dietler (2010 207–216) for details of the differences in consumption between regions and sites. Etruscan wine survived into the first half of the fifth century in parts of eastern Languedoc, see Dietler 2010 197.

¹⁷⁵ See Shefton 1994 68–69. Mediterranean imports in the Hallstatt zone were originally interpreted as evidence of ‘Hellenization’. A more sophisticated interpretation used world-systems analysis and saw the Hallstatt zone as a prestige goods economy, see Brun 1992, Cunliffe 1988, Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978. Some commentators (e.g. Nash 1985) viewed the economy as being driven by the Mediterranean states and that these were responsible for the fortunes of the Hallstatt centres. A reaction against this has argued that the influence of Mediterranean states should be reduced and that endogenous factors should receive more attention (‘Autonomous Regional Growth Model’). Adherents suggest that indigenous prestige goods were more important than the very few Mediterranean imports and that the latter simply reflected power which had been concentrating for some time, rather than creating it, see Bintliff 1984, Dietler 1990, 1999b, Woolf 1993.

in the region to the north of the Alps at the end of the so-called Hallstatt Period¹⁷⁶ and shifting patterns of trade between the Mediterranean and the north, including, in crude terms, an increase in Etruscan trade beginning around 480 and a reduction of Massaliote trade, whose interests increasingly focused on Southern Gaul.¹⁷⁷ Whatever the reasons for this change in trading patterns and the movement of the centre of gravity in the north from the Hallstatt centres to the more northerly La Tène zone, in some areas the altered Massaliote focus appears to have created tensions and unbalanced the fragile interlocking economies of the Midi, with volumes of trade to some sites actually decreasing. Bats (1992b) refers to the period from around 400 to 200 as ‘le partage des zones’, proposing that Massalia controlled the eastern coast of Gaul (and beyond as far as Genoa, Italy), but that towards the west, the sector was led by a ‘commerce ibéro-emporitain’¹⁷⁸ as indicated by the documents from Pech Maho, Ensérune and Emporion (§§1.5.2, 5.3.3, 6.4.1, 6.4.2).

The evidence is difficult to interpret and varies between areas, but the ‘longue crise économique des années 425–350’¹⁷⁹ appears to have had a tangible effect on indigenous settlements. Some widespread changes over the fourth and third centuries included a decrease in isolated establishments, a reduced number of new sites, an increase in hierarchization, structuring of settlements and use of stone building materials.¹⁸⁰ The traditional hypothesis of change being due to invasions of Celtic peoples from the north in the fourth and third centuries has been, almost universally, replaced by a view of steady internal change perhaps with continuous influxes of Celtic-speaking groups from the north, movements which had been happening for centuries.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ Arcelin 2004 239. See Collis 1986 for issues with the terms ‘Hallstatt’ and ‘La Tène’.

¹⁷⁷ See Rolley 1992. ¹⁷⁸ Bats 1992b 273. ¹⁷⁹ Arcelin 2004 240.

¹⁸⁰ See Arcelin 2004 (especially 238–240), Garcia 2004 80–89.

¹⁸¹ See Py 1993 37, 43. Py (2003 304) notes that the traditional view of ‘Celticization’ through massive invasions in the fourth and third centuries is still held by a small number of scholars. He notes that of those who have rejected the large-scale invasion hypothesis, some follow a ‘conciliatory’ approach with Celticization enacted by smaller levels of population movement, whilst others argue that there was likely to have been some degree of population movement but that this was marginal and that the area was already populated by Celtic-speaking communities. I see no reason why we should not follow Py in considering that Celtic-speaking communities are present in Southern Gaul well before 600 (he argues ‘bien avant’ the end of the Bronze Age (2003 304)). Despite the Celtic-speaking nature of the region in the Iron Age, however, we should note that Southern Gaul cannot be described as of typical ‘La Tène’ type, whatever that may mean; as Py notes, the ‘éléments continentaux sont toujours très minoritaires, sauf dans deux domaines, à savoir les parures et les armes où les schémas “laténiens” dominant’ (2003 309).

Indeed, the communities of Southern Gaul were constantly changing, and a major topic of research has been to assign motivating factors and to consider whether internal or external forces, or both, initiated developments in indigenous settlements. The importance of internal developments has been afforded increased attention in recent decades. Change did not begin for indigenous societies with the advent of the colonies: studies of the Bronze Age to Iron Age transition have demonstrated constant evolution, though how much weight to assign to these internal factors remains unclear.¹⁸² Similarly, the influence of external cultures is hard to gauge, and changes to settlements are illustrative of these two interacting factors.¹⁸³ Ramparts, new construction materials (stone foundations and stone and mud bricks) and changes to house and settlement layout can be traced in certain sites from the sixth century and might be interpreted as evidence of the impact of external influences. However, a complex picture emerges: in some settlements, for example, fortifications are attested just before Greek colonization (e.g. at Le Baou-Roux) and some forms diverge from Greek models, indicating that internal factors and a wider variety of non-Greek external influences may have been in play.¹⁸⁴ Dietler discusses these changes to indigenous settlements and concludes that they ‘were not an imitation of Greek or Etruscan dwellings or settlement plans, nor did they spread as a uniform package. Rather, they represent a complex process of vernacular experimentation.’¹⁸⁵ Another notable example of transformation is the rapid change in indigenous tableware,¹⁸⁶ including not only the adoption of manufacturing techniques (the wheel and controlled-draft kilns) but also copying local Greek colonial cream ware (previously known in the literature as Pseudo-Ionic) and grey monochrome ware (previously known as Phokaian ware) which began at the end of the first quarter of the sixth century. However, even in this case, the copying of cream ware was restricted to certain forms and three-quarters of the grey monochrome ware were of indigenous form. Indeed, indigenous cookware was apparently resistant to Mediterranean influences.¹⁸⁷

In broad terms, it seems that no indigenous sites show a profound assimilation to a Greek way of life: nowhere is evidence of ‘becoming Greek’ systematically traceable, in contradistinction to the phenomenon of ‘becoming

¹⁸² See Dietler 1997 277, 2010 82–83.

¹⁸³ For an excellent synthesis, see Py 1993 93–107, also Dietler 1997 307–314.

¹⁸⁴ Some fortifications may have been influenced by Punic examples, see Tréziny 2006a. See Dedet and Py 1985 for protohistoric fortifications in Southern Gaul.

¹⁸⁵ Dietler 2010 340. ¹⁸⁶ See Dietler 1997 299–303, 2005, 2010 231–256.

¹⁸⁷ See Dietler 2010 235–239 for discussion and some exceptions to the rule.

Roman' attested increasingly from around the turn of the millennium,¹⁸⁸ rather, some indigenous people seem to adopt select aspects of Greek culture for their own purposes.¹⁸⁹ Without doubt, external influences did have a significant impact on Southern Gaul; in particular, the increased trade and contact provoked a response from indigenous communities, namely a movement away from subsistence and consequently increased settlement fixity.¹⁹⁰ The settlements undergoing most rapid transformation were often those closest to the coast, and presumably, therefore, to the maritime *koine*, and to Greek centres,¹⁹¹ although many indigenous settlements in the direct hinterland of Marseille seem to have experienced tense, sometimes hostile, relationships with the colony and retained distinctively indigenous *facies*.¹⁹² The diversity of reactions and the continuation of many traditional aspects demonstrate that the process was not one-sided and straightforward but rather 'l'effet conjugué des stimulations externes et des motivations locales'.¹⁹³ These external stimuli emanated from all around the Mediterranean basin, not simply from the Greek colonies, though it is often hard to disentangle, quantify and qualify the precise origins of the influences.

From Gallo-Greek to Augustus

The largely second- and first-century phenomenon of Gallo-Greek epigraphy (Chapter 4) occurs when Massalia is effectively losing its dominance in Southern Gaul.¹⁹⁴ A major factor in this is the steady rise in Italian trade which begins in the third century.¹⁹⁵ Increased Italian involvement, linked to the Roman conquest of Iberia and the second Punic war, seems to have taken hold earlier to the west of the Rhône and steadily spread

¹⁸⁸ For Gauls 'becoming Roman', see Woolf 1998.

¹⁸⁹ The status assigned to wine in Southern Gaul has been a focus; Southern Gaul shows a distinctive pattern of consumption, see Dietler 1999a, Horden and Purcell 2000 220. Aspects of Greek culture not generally adopted include Greek bodily adornment, garum and olive oil, see Dietler 1999a, 2010. Kleiner (1973 382) also refers to the 'virtual absence of a sculptural tradition that can fairly be termed Greek'. For the distinctive responses of the Iberians to 'Hellenization', see Domínguez 1999.

¹⁹⁰ Py 1993 107–122. ¹⁹¹ Py 1993 93, 149.

¹⁹² See Bernard, Collin-Bouffier and Tréziny 2010.

¹⁹³ Py 1993 83. For other aspects, e.g. burial and social patterns, in this period, see Py 1993 83–150.

¹⁹⁴ For this period, see Duval, Morel and Roman 1990 (comparing southern and northern parts of Gaul) and Freyberger 1999.

¹⁹⁵ For details of the economic trends in this period, see Hermary, Hesnard and Tréziny 1999 132–141.

throughout Southern Gaul, though not without some resistance from certain areas.¹⁹⁶ From the second half of the third century numbers of wine amphorae from Sicily, Italy and Greece rise sharply, and from the end of the third century Massaliote amphorae steadily reduce.¹⁹⁷ By the final quarter of the second century, Massaliote amphorae have disappeared from Gaul, and even from Massalia itself, replaced by large quantities of Italian wine.¹⁹⁸ Although the evidence is not clear-cut, it does seem possible that Massaliote wine stopped being produced and the overwhelming evidence for Italian products, such as Campanian ware (expanding the indigenous repertoire to include plates for the first time) in the shipwrecks, suggests that Massalia was being marginalized by Italian traders in this period. Some, however, have argued that Massaliones acted as intermediaries (especially in the lower Rhône basin) and that Massaliote wine continued to be produced, though reserved for the city and transferred by other means than amphorae. Flat-bottomed amphorae from Les Carmes at Marseille suggest that the wine trade might have recovered in the late first century.¹⁹⁹ A heated debate surrounds the role of Massalia in the second and first centuries, and this is one area where some scholars possibly continue to be swayed by traditional Hellenocentric interpretations of the past (see §1.5.4). Without further very explicit information, perhaps epigraphic or literary, the question of whether Massalia continued to play a large part or not cannot be definitively answered.²⁰⁰

During this period indigenous groups seem to become, in general terms, more hierarchical, and the second century spawns an increase in the surface area of settlements and, sometimes, complexity of forms, including multiple-roomed courtyard houses and monumental constructions.²⁰¹ This has been described as a period of Gaulish resurgence: distinctive ritual

¹⁹⁶ See Bats 1992b 275–277.

¹⁹⁷ For a survey of Republican amphorae in France, see Bats 1986, Loughton 2003.

¹⁹⁸ Tchernia (1983) estimates as much as 100,000 hl of wine *per annum* may have been imported at the end of the Republic. Tin, slaves, cereals, skins and salt are usually put forward as exchange items for wine. Again, we should remember, however, that the pattern of consumption is not homogeneous and that some settlements did not embrace wine as much as others, see Dietler 2010 215.

¹⁹⁹ Bats 1996 581.

²⁰⁰ For a view that puts Marseille firmly in the driving-seat, see Bats 2008. Goudineau (1983) speculates, based on a possible interpretation of Strabo 4.1.5 and Junianus Justinus 43.4.1, that Marseille may have continued to be important commercially in the Hellenistic period, through its export to the *indigènes*, and also the Romans, of military technology and architectural and engineering expertise.

²⁰¹ For urbanism in pre-Roman Gaul, see Arcelin 2003 138–139, 2004, Garcia 2004, Woolf 1998 106–112. For problems with identifying urban centres, and the importance of seeing them as part of a continuum of settlement types, see Horden and Purcell 2000 89–122.

assemblages,²⁰² such as the monumental display of severed heads and the cross-legged and crouching warriors,²⁰³ appear at several sites, including Glanum,²⁰⁴ Nîmes²⁰⁵ and Entremont.²⁰⁶ Another feature of this period, the spread and development of Gallo-Greek, is now viewed by scholars as a means for local communities to express publicly their ‘difference’ from the Greeks, part of the awakening of ‘ethnic’ consciousness. However, the inscriptions do not explicitly project a specifically ‘ethnic’ identity and we should keep an open mind about types of identity expressed and explore the range of possible motivating factors, such as increased population density, economic growth and contact with the Italian peninsula (Chapter 4).

The identification of Italians in this period in the archaeological record of Southern Gaul is a difficult task. Traditionally, archaeologists did not expect to find much evidence beyond trade from Italy in the period before the texts speak of the systematic Roman conquest of the area. This may have resulted in important diagnostic evidence being overlooked or misinterpreted. Furthermore, in the Hellenistic period, diagnostic features are clearly hard to trace (§1.2). However, as we shall see, diagnostic features are not completely absent and current research is painting a complex picture. Excavation and analysis of sites in Southern Gaul should consider the possible Italian element and analysis of graffiti, provenance of materials, funerary practices, food deposits, cookware, human remains, architectural techniques, stylistic features and settlement layout may be significant in materializing Italian residents.²⁰⁷ It would be strange if Italians were not intensively investigating this area, so close to their own homeland and essential for economic expansion and securing the route to the Iberian peninsula. Research into

²⁰² For sacred spaces and public monuments, see the dossier in volume 15 (1992) of *Documents d'archéologie méridionale* (11–242), especially the survey article by Arcelin *et al.*, also Dietler 1997 319–322, Garcia 2003, 2004.

²⁰³ Statuary in the Iron Age Midi was traditionally largely dated to the first and second centuries. This has been overturned (‘parfois de façon excessive’ (Garcia 2003 226)) on account of finds such as the Le Marduel (Gard) bust which can be stratigraphically dated to the mid sixth century and finds from the Hallstatt sites Vix and Glauberg which can be dated to the sixth or fifth centuries. Many of the examples in the Midi are difficult to date as they have been reused in foundations or redisplayed in new monumental structures during the Iron Age and some archaeologists have reacted against a general redating by several centuries based on recent finds, particularly when the argumentation centres on ‘stylistic clues’. For Iron Age sculpture in the Midi (including comparisons with central European and Iberian sculpture), see the dossier in volume 27 (2004) of *Documents d'archéologie méridionale* (10–116).

²⁰⁴ See §8.2. ²⁰⁵ See Guillet *et al.* 1992, Sauvage 1992. ²⁰⁶ See Arcelin 1992a.

²⁰⁷ A rural settlement at Magalas (north of Béziers) occupied from the end of the second century has been identified by Mauné and Sanchez (1999) as housing Italian potters based on the differences in the quality and type of vessels produced at this site compared with local indigenous potteries.

Greek colonization has demonstrated the large range of size and type of settlements which are created by newcomers and this may prove useful for thinking about the possible nature of the early Italian presence (n. 146).

Mauné (2000) assesses the evidence for early Italian rural settlements in Southern Gaul, from the late second century to the mid first century. Traditional analysis of the settlement distribution suggests that in Provence the (non-Greek) settlements attested during that period are indigenous, not Italian. In eastern Languedoc and the Rhône valley the increase in settlements is imputed to Massaliote influence and in western Languedoc the larger increase is assigned to ‘une immigration italienne précoce plus ou moins régulière entre la conquête et les années 50–40 avant J.-C.’,²⁰⁸ linked to the proximity of Narbonne and *Hispania*, and supported, for example, by evidence of centuriation, mines and rare Italian *gentilicia*.²⁰⁹ Mauné argues that this regional differentiation may reflect ‘peut-être plus que les réalités antiques, l’importance et le poids du legs historiographique mais également les sensibilités personnelles des uns et des autres’.²¹⁰ She raises doubts in particular about the role of Massalia (especially considering the early Roman centuriation in eastern Languedoc)²¹¹ and believes that, were advances in dating the disappearance of Dressel 1A amphorae and Campanian A ware to be taken into account, several of the sites in Provence with possible Italian settlers could be dated to before the mid first century. Her work highlights that cross-regional studies are essential in understanding the Italian presence in Transalpine Gaul in the pre-Augustan period, and that the scope for identifying Italian communities is considerably wider than traditionally thought.²¹² This line of research on a broad scale would be extremely fruitful, but would require a reanalysis and comparison of the archaeological material of sites to discover trends and patterns which might uncover areas of Italian occupation, something that time and resources preclude.

A sketch of the *histoire événementielle* is necessary to gain a fuller picture of this period.²¹³ The earliest known official actions of the Romans in Southern

²⁰⁸ Mauné 2000 244.

²⁰⁹ Gayraud 1981 149–151, 411–443. Christol encourages us to study the names in Republican epigraphy beyond the area of Narbonne, some of which ‘font connaître ces noyaux de population italique’ (2003 472).

²¹⁰ Mauné 2000 253. ²¹¹ Mauné 2000 237–239.

²¹² This does not appear to have been a concern, for example, in Landuré and Pasqualini 2004, though the Rhône delta, as the cradle of Gallo-Greek epigraphy and an axis of trading routes, would be potentially very interesting for the documentation of possible Italian settlers. Arcelin 2003 134 notes that an Italian presence has been suggested for Lyon–Vaise and that permanent settlements of *negotiatores* are likely lower down the Rhône.

²¹³ For details and references to the ancient testimonies throughout this section, see Rivet 1988.

Gaul occur c. 218 and involve the failed attempt to coerce the locals against the Carthaginians. Massaliotes provided information about Hannibal's grip over the locals and the whereabouts of his army and some of the local tribes engaged with Hannibal's forces. But the main theatres of war were elsewhere and following these events, Southern Gaul was not occupied by the Romans, but rather Rome's ally,²¹⁴ Massalia, was left to protect the route from Italy to Spain. It has been argued that South-western Gaul may have passed under Roman control in this period, but the evidence is not decisive.²¹⁵ Rome was again involved in 182 when Massalia appealed to the growing power for help against the 'Ligurian' pirates. The next significant historically attested event was the war in 154 of Rome against the *Oxybii* and *Deciates*, the origin of which was Massaliote insecurity faced with pressure from the locals, who had besieged both Antipolis and Nikaia. In the aftermath, though it is possible that some restrictions on oleiculture and viticulture were imposed on transalpine communities by the Romans, still no permanent base was established. The military intervention of 125–124, headed by M. Fluvius Flaccus and then C. Sextius Calvinus, was against the *Salluvii*, *Ligures* and *Vocontii*, provoked by the Salluvian attack on Massalia. Results included the withdrawal of indigenous communities from the coast (the land thereby gained was assigned to Massalia), the foundation of Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence), and a series of campaigns against indigenous groups which were preventing the Roman progression north. Following the successes of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Q. Fabius Maximus in *circa* 121 against the *Allobroges* and *Arverni*,²¹⁶ the Roman grip on Gaul was strengthened by the construction of the *Via Domitia* (a little inland from the prehistoric *Via Heraclea*), complete with milestones,²¹⁷ and the foundation of the *colonia*, Narbo Martius (Narbonne), in 118. During the late second century, the *Teutones* and *Cimbri* (groups probably originally from north-west Europe bordering or near the North Sea),²¹⁸ joined by some Gaulish communities, invaded lands to the south, and, encouraged by the instability, other local tribes revolted. After some crushing defeats inflicted on the Roman army, including a *dies ater* in 105 near Orange, in 102 C. Marius was able to restore Roman control through victory, due partly to successful improvements to the army and the creation of the *Fossae Mariana*e to facilitate

²¹⁴ For the relationship between Rome and Massalia, see Morel 2006a 374, 381. The relationship must have been long-standing since Diodorus (14.93.4) and Appian (*Ital.* 8.3) tell us that the Romans placed offerings at Delphi in the Massaliote treasury after the capture of Veii in 390 BC.

²¹⁵ See Py 1993 36.

²¹⁶ See Castellvi 2003 452–453 for a coin depicting a trophy possibly associated with these battles.

²¹⁷ See *Gallia* 1951 205–231. ²¹⁸ See Cunliffe 1997 221–222.

military supply. This essential supply route was later handed over to the Massaliotes – a potentially significant act for assessing the economic and political role of Massalia.²¹⁹

Controversy persists over the point at which Southern Gaul officially became a Roman province.²²⁰ The traditional date of c. 120 has been challenged and a *terminus post quem* of Marius's victories proposed, but without further evidence a secure conclusion cannot be reached. The Republican period in Transalpine Gaul provides few clues as to the exact organization of the area. Important events include the Roman repression of a revolt of the *Salluvii* in 90, another of unknown Gaulish groups in the 80s and Pompey's involvement in Spain which again possibly included the suppression of Gaulish tribes. These events entailed recruitment of troops from Gaul (including the grandfather of Pompeius Trogus; see §6.1) and the transfer of more land to Massalia. In the following years the *Allobroges* were heavily involved in events, including thwarting Catiline's plot to enlist support in Gaul and revolting against the Romans. This revolt was the last serious unrest in Transalpine Gaul; under the governorship of Caesar, Southern Gaul did not join *Gallia Comata* and Caesar was even able to recruit from the area.

During the civil war, Massalia refused to take the side of either of its benefactors, Caesar or Pompey. Upon the arrival of Caesar's rival, Domitius, however, the Massaliotes closed the gates to Caesar. After the subsequent naval battles, siege and capitulation in 49, Massalia was spared any crippling retribution, and was made a *ciuitas foederata*. It did, nevertheless, lose land, especially to Arles, and, though the results for most of its colonies are unclear, we know that Antipolis broke away and became an 'Italiote city' (Strabo 4.1.9). Although the details elude us, it appears that at some point in the early years of the second half of the first century, cities in Southern Gaul were granted Latin status (*ius Latii*), which, most significantly, allowed access to citizenship via the highest magistracy.²²¹ Caesar refounded Narbonne in around 45 for veterans of the Tenth Legion, as well as founding Arles for the Sixth, and some *coloniae Latinae* (possibly including Nîmes). The next couple of decades saw the creation of further *coloniae Romanae* probably by

²¹⁹ As so often, the significance is unclear. The act could be interpreted as indicating that Massalia was still a prime economic and political force in the area. Conversely, and perhaps on balance more justifiably, it has also been viewed as a compensation from Rome for its sidelining of the Greek city (Arcelin 2003 141).

²²⁰ See Badian 1966 901–907, Ebel 1976.

²²¹ For details of the status of cities in Southern Gaul under the Romans, see Chastagnol 1995 113–129.

Octavian, Béziers, Orange and Fréjus,²²² and in 27 all Gaul was placed under the Imperial aegis of Augustus, Southern Gaul becoming *Gallia Narbonensis*.

Southern Gaul as Gallia Narbonensis

Gallia Narbonensis is generally considered to have been reasonably quick to ‘Romanize’ and is often distinguished from the *Tres Galliae* in this respect.²²³ Numerous quotations from ancient and modern authors could be marshalled to support this claim. Pliny the Elder produces an ideal soundbite when he describes *Narbonensis* as *Italia uerius quam prouincia* (*N.H.* 3.4.31) ‘more like Italy than a province’, and Goudineau notes that ‘compared to *Narbonensis*, so quickly assimilated, the *Tres Galliae* seem like a world still resting on Iron Age foundations.’²²⁴ In contrast to the impact of Greek culture on indigenous communities, ‘Romanization’ does seem to have had a more profound impact on the way of life in Southern Gaul. We do find evidence for the desire and attempts to ‘become Roman’. Unlike Pompeius Trogus’ assertion about the transformation of Southern Gaul into *Gallia Graeca* (p. 147) which is now treated with disdain,²²⁵ Pliny’s analysis is greeted with unusually confident appreciation, Goudineau, for example, stating that his claim ‘continues to be confirmed by more and more illustrations. No surprises there: after all, he knew more about it than we do.’²²⁶

An obvious and well-studied change is the reorganization and urbanization of the landscape.²²⁷ A move from large numbers of small settlements to a system of fewer unified states was made and urban centres developed which were much larger than anything that had existed before. Whilst urbanization was not new to Southern Gaul, the vast scale, widespread nature, many of the materials and techniques (such as *opus caementicium*) and the monumentality certainly were. One need only think of Roman Nîmes, with its

²²² For details of the foundation of *coloniae Romanae* in Southern Gaul, see Chastagnol 1995 114–115.

²²³ They clearly were viewed differently from Rome; Claudius’ proposition to allow citizens from the *Tres Galliae* to stand for magistracies in Rome and to have access to the senate was opposed and only the *Aedui* were at first granted this privilege, despite the fact that *Narbonensis* had been allowed it in AD 14.

²²⁴ Goudineau 1996 502. For brief discussions of the main ancient accounts of Gaul, see Woolf 1998 48–54. Modern synthetic accounts include Drinkwater 1983, Goudineau 2007, Jullian 1908–26, King 1990a, Rivet 1988, Roman and Roman 1997, Woolf 1998. Wells 1999 traces the impact of Roman conquest on Celtic and Germanic-speaking communities (it is worth noting that whilst his book is entitled *The barbarians speak*, surprisingly little use is made of epigraphic or linguistic evidence).

²²⁵ Dietler, for instance, describes Pompeius Trogus’ summary as ‘largely erroneous’ (2010 1).

²²⁶ Goudineau 1996 487.

²²⁷ See Goudineau 1996 474–476, 480–485 for an overview and bibliography, also Woolf 1998 106–141.

sanctuary complex, amphitheatre and Maison Carrée to get a flavour of the new urban landscape.²²⁸ Some towns and more isolated mountainous areas admittedly took longer to develop, and pre-Roman methods of construction and forms continued to be used alongside Roman-style construction, but from the Augustan period onwards the landscape of Southern Gaul, and not only the urban centres, but also the countryside where Roman roads, cadastral systems, aqueducts, *villae* and other buildings carved up the landscape was transformed forever.

Roman veterans and soldiers played an important role in spreading Roman influence and power, especially once recruitment from the local population became standard, providing access to citizenship and Latin,²²⁹ and a means for ‘fierier spirits’ to be harnessed for Roman, rather than anti-Roman, ends.²³⁰ Five *coloniae Romanae* (Arles, Béziers, Fréjus, Narbonne, Orange) were in existence in Southern Gaul in the second half of the first century.²³¹ Ebel notes that these *coloniae* were, on average, about 115 kilometres apart and ‘most people in the region were, therefore, within a reasonable distance of one of these Roman centres’.²³² Indeed, Drinkwater goes as far as describing the creation of the *coloniae* as a legacy which ‘effectively won The Province for the Roman world’.²³³

Influxes of settlers from Italy, enticed by trading prospects, new land and the collection of revenue must also have had a substantial impact. This process should be seen as beginning in an early period, since in 81 Cicero tackles a dispute between Romans concerning the ownership of land in Southern Gaul in the *Pro Quinctio*, and a few years later, in another speech, is able to remark that:

referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena ciuium Romanorum. Nemo Gallorum sine ciue Romano quicquam negotii gerit: nummus in Gallia nullus sine ciuium Romanorum tabulis commouetur (*Pro Fonteio* 5)

Gaul has been overrun by traders, it is full of Roman citizens. None of the Gauls does any business without a Roman citizen: not one coin circulates in Gaul without being recorded in the accounts of Roman citizens.

Even allowing for hyperbole, if Cicero were reasonably able to utter such words, by the later Augustan period, Italian settlers would no doubt have been numerous. In AD 14 all citizens of *Narbonensis* (not just those in the

²²⁸ See Anderson 2013 for a recent study of Roman architecture in Provence. It should be handled with caution given its out-of-date information and bibliography.

²²⁹ For Latin in the army, see §3.3. ²³⁰ Drinkwater 1983 18.

²³¹ The exact dates of the *deductiones* are debated, see Ebel 1988 576–577, Rivet 1988 *passim*, Woolf 1998 38.

²³² Ebel 1988 577. ²³³ Drinkwater 1983 17.

colonies) were granted the right to stand for magistracies at Rome, thus opening up the possibility of senatorial careers.²³⁴ They appear to have taken advantage of this: until the end of the first century AD *Narbonensis* provided more equestrians and senators than anywhere in the Empire bar Italy itself. In sum, the economic, legal, political and social benefits offered by the Romans must have been highly attractive.²³⁵ For an indication of the success of Roman culture and the Latin language in Gaul, we might look to the fourth-century Gallo-Roman poet Ausonius, who discusses the origins of the professors at Bordeaux and notes that two were descended from Druids.²³⁶ By this period a Gallo-Roman aristocracy clearly existed within which it was acceptable to be both Roman and local: *diligo Burdigalam, Romam colo* ‘I love Bordeaux, I worship Rome’ (*Ordo urbium nobilium* 20.40). Even the despised and highly un-Roman Druids could by then be accommodated.

Nevertheless, flashpoints, such as the destructions of the statues of Tiberius in Nîmes, highlight that the course of cultural contacts never runs smoothly and that we should avoid oversimplification.²³⁷ The varied nature and evolution of religious practices in *Gallia Narbonensis* in particular suggest that becoming Roman did not proceed evenly through all domains. We see the continued worship of indigenous deities (in some cases perhaps the creation of new ‘indigenous’ deities) alongside the Imperial cult and the veneration of Roman deities, and various forms of contact phenomenon such as *interpretatio*, syncretism and mixed marriages.²³⁸ But even this disordered, flexible mixture might arguably be viewed as typical of Roman provincial religion. In general, the province was well integrated and does not feature highly in ancient testimonies, presumably due to its relatively peaceful history; even the potentially disruptive *imperium Galliarum* and the barbarian invasions of the second half of the third century AD seem to have provoked little commentary.

1.5.4 Historiography, the approved ancestry and new perspectives

The entanglements of diverse indigenous groups, ‘colonial’ Greeks, traders and settlers from the entire Mediterranean basin and inland must have entailed complex interactions in Southern Gaul. Literary testimonies offer only partial evidence, both in the sense of coverage (mostly Roman concerns

²³⁴ One of the most famous, Agricola, the governor of *Britannia*, was born in Fréjus.

²³⁵ See, for example, Brunt 1976. ²³⁶ Hopkins 1961 244–247.

²³⁷ Suet. *Tib.* 13. See Barruol 1976 for examples of resistance and/or persistence from the beginnings of ‘Romanization’.

²³⁸ For useful summaries and bibliography, see Goudineau 2000b 486–491, Woolf 1998 206–237.

and specific tropes) and bias, leaving our appreciation of the pre-Roman period particularly deficient.²³⁹ *Histoire événementielle*, composed by Greek and Roman authors and focused on military events, can mask the *histoire totale* of multiple identities, and social and economic complexity.²⁴⁰ Archaeological work in Southern Gaul has been intense in recent decades and, with the technological and conceptual advances of so-called ‘New Archaeology’, has resulted in a huge amount of well-contextualized material.²⁴¹ Nevertheless, numerous sites were excavated in the ‘pre-scientific’ period (e.g. Roquepertuse),²⁴² not all modern sites have received sufficient resources or systematic coverage in print²⁴³ and published material remains in diffuse publications with few overarching syntheses.²⁴⁴ A perennial problem is the inadequacy of the publication of epigraphic finds (§6.3.1).

The epigraphic and linguistic analysis for Southern Gaul has lagged behind progress in archaeology, in large part due to the compartmentalization of disciplines. Very few authors, with the exception of Bats, and more recently, Häussler, have successfully bridged the gap between the epigraphic and archaeological domains (Chapter 4). Greek and Latin epigraphic material is rarely integrated into modern accounts of the region written from archaeological perspectives, and the Gallo-Greek record, I will argue, has traditionally been misinterpreted due to an adherence to outdated views of cultural contacts. The recent developments in francophone research cannot be fully elaborated without further sophisticated incorporation of the linguistic and epigraphic material. At some settlements, for instance Glanum (§8.2), the archaeological remains are so complex that no consensus has been reached as to the composition of the communities. Linguistic analysis will bring insights, refinements and the opportunity to test divergent opinions. This section presents key cultural forces behind the interpretations of Southern Gaul.

²³⁹ For these sources, see CAG 13/3 141–159, Duval 1971, Freeman 1996, Guyot-Rougé and Rougé 1992, Hermay, Hesnard and Tréziny 1999 167–178, Rankin 1987. The most salient themes are the position of Marseille as an ally of Rome, its role in Roman history (particularly, of course, military), the conservative constitution, the foundation myths and the contacts with the surrounding ‘barbarians’.

²⁴⁰ See Woolf 1994b 86.

²⁴¹ See Dietler 1997 269–271, who notes that scholars outside the region have shown little awareness of the huge body of recent work.

²⁴² In the case of Roquepertuse major advances have been made through reanalysis of the finds from Gérin-Richard’s early nineteenth-century excavations and new excavations undertaken in the 1990s; see the articles collected in the first half of volume 14 (1991) of *Documents d’archéologie méridionale* (7–88), Boissinot 2004, Boissinot and Lescure 1998, Lescure 2004.

²⁴³ Showcases such as Lattes and Olbia demonstrate what can be achieved with good resources.

²⁴⁴ For broad syntheses, see Benoît 1965, Dietler 2010, Garcia 2004, Py 1993. For surveys of archaeological work, see Arcelin *et al.* 1990, Chausserie-Laprée 2000, Delestre 2005.

Generally speaking, until the late 1960s, the Midi was the only part of France deemed worthy of the attention of classical archaeologists, due to the presence of the Greek colonists and the relatively early Roman conquest. The extremely poor non-textual information on Massalia during this period (at this point still largely the city ‘sans antiquités’²⁴⁵) meant that classical scholars focused on the way that Massalia had ‘hellenized’ (in the traditional sense) the *indigènes*.²⁴⁶ Indeed, the automatic link of Greek culture in Southern Gaul to Massalia or, occasionally, to its colonies on the south coast was reinforced by literary texts and the paucity of Greek remains from Massalia itself, which meant that Massaliote origins could not be easily denied. Conversely, the colonies remained bastions of Greekness and resistant to influence from the surrounding populations. Constans remarks that Massalia remained in the literature ‘une cité purement grecque et jalousement fermée aux “barbares” environnants’.²⁴⁷

In a climate of post-colonialism, ironically at the same time that Marseille was beginning to offer archaeological gems, the focus shifted away from the Greek colonies and their role. The study of the indigenous communities and endogenous development became fashionable and the role of Massalia increasingly doubted and reduced. In Goudineau’s metaphor, the pendulum had swung too far the other way.²⁴⁸ More recently, the balance has tended to be restored and an important aspect of current research is an appreciation of the multiple influences impacting on the Midi, and especially the importance of interaction with other parts of Gaul and the Italian and Iberian peninsulas.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ See Euzennat 1992 for an overview of the history of excavation at Marseille and for the attribution of this description (66).

²⁴⁶ For a survey of the early approach, see Dietler 1997 296–297, 1999a 476–478; the main proponents for Southern Gaul are Benoît 1965 and Jacobsthal and Neuffer 1933. For some intriguing early examples of ‘l’orientation philhellène de la recherche historique et archéologique provençale’, see Chausserie-Laprée 2005 11–13.

²⁴⁷ Constans 1931 156. See, for example, Clerc 1927 460: ‘Jamais la population de la colonie grecque n’a été une population mixte, et jamais les descendants des Phocéens ne se sont métissés.’ In 1975 Momigliano remarked that the problem of the ‘effect of the neighbourhood of the Celts on Massalia’ was still largely being ignored in favour of discussions of Hellenization (in the traditional sense) (53).

²⁴⁸ Goudineau 2007 139–143.

²⁴⁹ Our understanding of Glanum has improved rapidly in recent decades, with publications emphasizing the complexity of the origins of ‘Hellenic’ features (§8.2). The ongoing excavation of Lattara has provided detailed information for the analysis of mixtures of populations and influences; see, for instance, the eponymous journal. Momigliano had stressed the importance of research into multiple influences in ‘Celtic territory’ in 1975 (53–54).



Figure 1 Plaque on the Quai des Belges, Marseille.

Yet, despite the progress in the research, the notion of ‘La Provence grecque’ remains embedded in regional consciousness through decades of repetition in the popular media.²⁵⁰ Without doubt this desire to promote the Phokaian Greeks as a crucial part of the approved ancestry of the South of France forms part of a distancing from the North, and in particular Paris, whose claim to early ‘civilization’ derives from Rome.²⁵¹ The importance of the earlier and more ‘exotic’ Greek civilization resonates in popular publications from Marseille,²⁵² ‘la cité phocéenne’, and the Marseillais are daily reminded of their past by walking over the plaque on the Quai des Belges, which states that ‘Ici vers l’an 600 avant J C des marins grecs ont abordé venant de Phocée cité grecque d’Asie Mineure. Ils fondèrent Marseille d’où rayonna en Occident la civilisation’ (Figure 1).

²⁵⁰ A group in this area, composed predominately of ‘notables’, was named ‘L’Association des amis de Saint-Blaise et de la Provence grecque’. An early example of the media bias is the headline: ‘Une ville grecque surgit du sol de Provence’ referring to the indigenous settlement of Saint-Blaise (in *L’Illustration*, 11 December 1937); a more recent example is: ‘Saint-Blaise: une cité grecque entre les étangs’ (in *L’Accent de Provence*, September–November 2007).

²⁵¹ See Hodge 1998 4–5. The other important element of French ancestry is Gaulish, see, for instance, Dietler 1994, Goudineau 2000a 7–19, 2007 (especially 13–94).

²⁵² See Goudineau 1999 for an overview.

This cultural phenomenon continues to have an impact and, whilst researchers are alert to the importance of analysing the potential factors hindering an objective approach, the orthodoxy in some environments remains relatively resilient and may occasionally be reflected in the research questions posed.²⁵³ Dietler has brilliantly demonstrated in theoretical terms, but also with specific reference to Southern Gaul, ‘the curious historical process by which modern consciousness has been, in a sense, “colonized” by the ancient Greeks and Romans and how that colonized perspective has come to color the way archaeologists now understand ancient colonial encounters.’²⁵⁴ The Hellenocentric approach to Southern Gaul lingers particularly in discussions of trade, with some scholars tending to privilege Massalia’s role. The research community seems to have been polarized into those who argue that some shipwrecks and trading posts were Etruscan and those who see them as Greek.²⁵⁵ Morel and Bats are perhaps the most well-known scholars to have debated the question of ‘Etruscan anteriority’, with Morel supporting an early Etruscan presence and Bats playing down their role,²⁵⁶ proposing that Etruscan amphorae of the sixth century could have been transported by Massaliotes, just as he has suggested for Italic goods of the second and first centuries.²⁵⁷ This stance is mirrored in the debates over trade in South-western Gaul, where the role of Emporion is often inflated to the detriment of Iberian participation.²⁵⁸ But asking whether the trade was ‘Massaliote’, ‘Etruscan’ or ‘Iberian’ is perhaps the wrong question. As Dietler points out ‘this framing of the issue is an anachronistic projection of modernist conceptions of nationalist mercantilism and pervasive state control of the economy’.²⁵⁹ Or, as Goudineau more bluntly puts it: ‘Le commerce n’a pas de patrie: *business is business*.’²⁶⁰ The reality would have been heterogeneous groups of traders, sailors and overseers, with participation of locals both on land and at sea.²⁶¹

This book follows research trends in appreciating multiple influences and identities. A crucial addition to the scholarship is the exploitation of the epigraphic and linguistic record to question and inform the current archaeological and historical analyses. Several major aspects of importance emerge.

²⁵³ See the remarks in Leveau 2004. ²⁵⁴ Dietler 2010 3.

²⁵⁵ See MacIntosh Turfa 2008. For the problem of assigning origins to wrecks, see Graham 1990 50.

²⁵⁶ See Morel 1981, 1982 486–488 and Bats 1998. ²⁵⁷ Bats 1992b 268.

²⁵⁸ See Dietler 2007 262–266. ²⁵⁹ Dietler 2010 139. ²⁶⁰ Goudineau 1992 452.

²⁶¹ See Polybius 3.42.2, D.S. 5.39.8 for the role of locals in seaborne trade. Dietler 2010 144 notes that despite evidence such as this, ‘the indigenous peoples of the western Mediterranean have been almost unanimously ignored in discussions of maritime trade’.

First, this work builds on the interest generated by the application of modern bilingualism theory to ancient evidence by modelling language contact and community dynamics and exploiting an innovative interdisciplinary approach. The next four chapters set out the terminology and theories of contemporary studies of language contact (Chapter 2) and bilingualism (Chapter 3) and offer methodological guidelines for the study of scripts (Chapter 4) and onomastics (Chapter 5), using evidence from Southern Gaul. These largely methodological chapters serve as a crucial precursor to Part II, Chapters 6 to 9, where an interdisciplinary approach, examining the linguistic evidence from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective, provides new evidence for language contact, identity and cultural contacts in Southern Gaul.

Second, we examine in detail the evidence for cultural contacts and contact-induced change. Chapter 6 treats the linguistic evidence for Gaulish and Greek in contact, asking how far *Gallia in Graecam translata*. A new database is used to assess the spread of Greek epigraphy in Southern Gaul and attempts are made to identify contact-induced change in Gaulish. In line with the recent directions in archaeological research, analysis of the epigraphy presents the Greek colonies as only one agent in the process of cultural change in Southern Gaul and Italian influences as earlier and more intense than traditionally described. The extended discussion of the *dedebratekanten* dossier in the next chapter reveals a hint of the entangled linguistic and cultural interactions which are a feature of contact with the Mediterranean *koine*. In Chapter 8 we attempt to understand better the nature of the contact cultures and their evolution. The case studies of Glanum and the Aristaion explore the complex nature of these exceptional sites and the dangers of generalizations, and the sites are shown to be possible foci for contact-induced change. Chapter 9 expands our chronological view by presenting the material for Latin, Greek and Gaulish in contact from the Augustan period and analyses the significance of the conclusions for our understanding of the changing ethnolinguistic vitality of the speech communities. Various commentators, both ancient and modern, have argued that the Greek civilization of the region facilitated its later ‘Romanization’.²⁶² But this can easily be seen as too reductive and ‘Whiggish’.²⁶³ We consider a more complex view, and explore whether early contact with a range of Mediterranean cultures may have played a role in the transformation of the area into a Roman province.

²⁶² For example, Strabo and Rolland’s numerous publications.

²⁶³ Dieler 2010 12–13 also attacks a ‘highly selective “Whig history” reading’ of the pre-colonial situation in Southern Gaul.

A third major strand of this book is the exploration of multiple, multi-layered identities. Colonies themselves are typically cosmopolitan, not only through indigenous–colonist contact, ‘but the seaborne community itself tends to be cosmopolitan too’, despite the foundation myths which generally assign primacy artificially to one *metropolis*.²⁶⁴ Mixtures of populations within the Phokaian colonies, intermarriage, linguistic and other cultural influences have only recently become the subject of serious consideration²⁶⁵ and the new approaches require refinement as some describe relatively homogeneous responses to multiculturalism in the colonies (§8.3.5).²⁶⁶ Several layers of identities in Southern Gaul will be identified and analysed using a range of sources and the reactions to cultural contacts reveal themselves as complex and context-specific.²⁶⁷ We are interested not only in colonization, but also the longer-term process of ‘colonialism’ and ‘imperialism’²⁶⁸ and how relationships, networks and identities develop in contact situations over time. Multiple identities are particularly brought to the fore in the discussion of the Aristaion, Glanum (Chapter 8) and the Imperial bilingual inscriptions (Chapter 9).

Profound cultural changes took place in Southern Gaul between the advent of the Greeks and Christianity. This is an area which is still poorly known outside France but is an intriguing testing ground for many hypotheses. The impact of colonization/colonialism, Hellenization, Mediterraneanization, interactions with Continental Europe, the change to Roman rule and the interactions of the communities involved can all be assessed by integrating the available evidence, making this study of direct relevance far beyond the specific historical context. Indeed, Dietler (2010) has successfully demonstrated that a theoretically informed and self-aware study of the colonial encounter in Southern Gaul can even illuminate our knowledge of modern European identity, Euro-American colonialism and contemporary colonial discourse.

²⁶⁴ Horden and Purcell 2000 396–397.

²⁶⁵ See Tréziny 2006a for details and bibliography. Tréziny 2010 showcases the exciting work currently being undertaken on this subject.

²⁶⁶ See, for example, Domínguez 2004, Lomas 2004b, 2004c.

²⁶⁷ See Dietler 2010 for an excellent, detailed discussion of the nature of the colonial entanglements.

²⁶⁸ See, for example, Dietler 2010 15–19 for definitions of these terms.

2.1 Contact linguistics and the ancient world: fashionable but not practicable?

The term *multilingual* can refer to both a society and to an individual,¹ and is used almost interchangeably with the term *bilingual*, the difference being quantitative rather than qualitative.² The relationship between language contact and community dynamics, an essential aspect of our investigation into multilingualism and multiple identities, will be the starting point for our detailed exposition of the application of contemporary bilingualism theory to the ancient world. The models developed here will be revisited in Chapter 10 based on the findings of Chapters 6–9.

The application of modern research, which has traditionally treated speech, to languages known only through written sources, ‘*corpus languages*’,³ poses methodological difficulties.⁴ Modern linguists can study speech, and copious amounts of it, all carefully collected and contextualized.⁵ They can interview the individuals and live and work in the societies they are documenting. In reconstructing the bilingualism of communities in the ancient world, we must remember that we are dealing with written evidence, not the spoken word. Only a very restricted section of society composed the literature that has been transmitted to us, and the inscriptional record is also limited, though admittedly to a lesser extent (soldiers, elites and freedmen are particularly prolific, unmarried, older women, slaves and older children much less so), so we are plagued by what has been termed ‘epigraphic bias’.⁶ The written word generally requires

¹ *Plurilingual* may also refer to both, though some reserve it for the individual, e.g. Spolsky 2004 4.

² See, for example, Hoffmann 1991 9–10.

³ Langslow 2002 23–24 prefers this term to that of ‘dead languages’, as it avoids associations with the phenomenon of language death.

⁴ See also Mullen 2011a and Mullen and James 2012.

⁵ Though as Maya Feile Tomes reminds me (p.c.), modern linguists also restrict their data; it is just that our data is restricted for us.

⁶ Bodel 2001.

more thought than the spoken and may be affected by standardization,⁷ formulaic language, deliberate archaism and linguistic choices based on genre. The choice of language for the written output of a community may therefore not represent the realities of the day-to-day use of the spoken language: some indigenous languages seem never to have been written at all and we cannot describe accurately the complexity of linguistic choices, motivated, for example, by domains (§2.3.1), based purely on restricted written evidence.

The lack of contextualization for our material creates a considerable problem, particularly for new interdisciplinary approaches. We are frequently confronted with inscriptional evidence which may have undergone undocumented removal in modern times or reuse in antiquity or the Middle Ages. Early modern transcriptions, which sometimes represent our only knowledge of certain inscriptions, can often be inaccurate or blighted by complicated transmission processes (including copying and emendation) which we are unable to reconstruct.⁸ We cannot know how much written evidence has not been transmitted to us; we may not read the texts correctly;⁹ we may date the evidence wrongly and we may be thrown off course by fakes. When analysing the bilingualism of individuals, we may be unsure with whom we are dealing. Indeed, the production of lapidary inscriptions might have involved a veritable team of people.¹⁰ Stone inscriptions can pass through several stages: commission (which may have comprised little more than vague intentions, perhaps not even in the language of the final product, which may be dependent on the competence of the available staff); drafting; outlining; and final carving. The bilingual content could therefore be the product of any one of a number of people, who may, or may not, be named in the inscription, and could even be the result of the use of manuals or the purchase of stones with pre-carved formulae.¹¹ In short, the contrived nature of writing compared to speech raises the question of whether it is methodologically sound to apply modern analysis to ancient texts at all.

⁷ For the standardization of Latin, see Adams 2007 13–17, Clackson and Horrocks 2007 77–228. Haugen 1966 is the classic discussion of the stages in standardization (selection, codification, elaboration, acceptance). Joseph 1987 is a sophisticated discussion of standard languages, though the monogenetic hypothesis might be questioned.

⁸ See Mullen and James 2012 for contextual issues concerning papyri and medieval manuscripts.

⁹ For example, our resolutions of abbreviations and restoration of missing sections may be incorrect (see Badian 1989 for possible unintended results).

¹⁰ Occasionally we find details of the production process, see Adams 2003a 84–88.

¹¹ For manuals in the ancient world, see Armstrong 1910 239–242, Carroll 2006 106–108, Cooley 2012 291–292, Lattimore 1962 17–20.

Despite the problems, there are perhaps advantages in studying language contact through written evidence. For example, we might be able to learn more from a bilingual text created by multiple collaborators than from a recording of a bilingual's speech, as long as we employ a sophisticated analysis. Adams deems the issue of collaboration in the production of a lapidary inscription not to be as problematic as at first sight: 'such variables do not undermine the linguistic evidence which the inscription can provide about language use in a lower-class (*sic*) bilingual community. Crass interference errors in a text compiled by two or three persons are more likely than not to reflect a common cultural background of the collaborators.'¹² The increased amount of thought and care often involved in the creation of a text, as opposed to a spontaneous utterance, may allow the researcher to be more certain as to intentionality. Indeed texts with multiple modes of expression (use of scripts, addition of iconography, material support chosen, location, etc.) may offer numerous clues for interpretation (what contemporary linguists call a 'multi-modal' analysis). We can study the non-linguistic clues, including possible instances of visual code-switching, along with the purely linguistic features and build up a vision of the cultural configurations and identities at stake.

Our increasingly sophisticated analysis of written multilingualism may be of particular importance with regard to future interaction with modern linguists.¹³ The perceived oral–written dichotomy between the study of multilingualism in the present and past is being dissolved as the tradition of investigating contemporary multilingualism through speech alone erodes with increasing interest in written evidence.¹⁴ A large part of research currently focuses on what we might see as the 'speech-end' of writing, text messages, emails, internet chat, but there seems to be no reason why the field should not encompass the whole spectrum of written multilingual production, including translation literature, which constitutes a separate discipline.¹⁵ Used with care, contemporary studies of language contact offer a terminological and analytical framework for the study of the ancient

¹² Adams 2003a 92–93.

¹³ Several of the key current areas of interest for contemporary linguists: linguistic landscapes, written bilingualism, multi-modal analysis and visual code-switching are paralleled by work being undertaken by students of the past. Fruitful collaboration is beginning to take place, as witnessed by the first panel devoted to antiquity at the *International Symposium of Bilingualism* 8 in Oslo, June 2011. I am grateful to Penelope Gardner-Chloros, Aneta Pavlenko and Antje Wilton for their invaluable advice on the field of contemporary multilingualism studies.

¹⁴ Some early contemporary bilingualism studies specifically treating written code-switching material include McClure 1998, 2001, Montes-Alcalá 2001.

¹⁵ See Mullen 2012b 13–14.

world and our knowledge of the scope and limitations of analysing written bilingualism should feed into contemporary multilingualism research and allow for cross-fertilization.

Broad evidence for language contact, the development of languages formed through contact and the linguistic composition of regions, and how this fits with models of community dynamics, will be the theme of this chapter. The terminology of bilingualism and typologies of bilingual texts and their interpretation will be focus of Chapter 3.

2.2 Mixed languages: pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages

We begin consideration of the technicalities of language contact and community dynamics with a complex topic, which highlights the limitations of our evidence starkly, that of mixed languages and their possible existence in the ancient world. This is important since it will inform a discussion of the use of the term ‘creolization’ in anthropological and archaeological discourse, which, as we have seen (§§1.2, 1.3), has been employed in one of the numerous attempts to rethink ‘Romanization’.

Defining mixed languages is a surprisingly difficult task: not only are definitions themselves a matter of debate in contact linguistics, but changes in terminology, or different uses of the same terminology, blight the subject.¹⁶ For instance, the term *mixed language* is often employed to refer specifically to *bilingual mixed languages*. It is more logical, following Thomason, to describe all mixed languages, namely languages ‘that did not arise primarily through descent with modification from a single earlier language’¹⁷, that is pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages, with the term *mixed languages* and to classify the particular form of mixed language produced by bilinguals as a *bilingual mixed language*.¹⁸ What is presented here is, of necessity, a simplification of the debate.¹⁹

¹⁶ See Jourdan 1991 for an introduction to the problems. For pidgins and creoles, see Arends, Muysken and Smith 1995, Bickerton 1976, Hall 1966, Holm 1988, 2000, Hymes 1971, Mühlhäusler 1997, Romaine 1988, Sebba 1997, Singh 2000, Todd 1990. See Schuchardt and Gilbert 1980 for a collection of work by the ‘father of creole studies’. Thomason and Kaufman 1988, a seminal work, deals with pidgins and creoles within a larger discussion of language contact and historical linguistics; see also Thomason 2001 and 2002a for more recent work.

¹⁷ Thomason 2001 271.

¹⁸ Thomason’s usage may well become standard, though most work on pidgins and creoles still employs the original usage, see, for instance, Holm 2000.

¹⁹ Terms such as *pre-pidgin*, *jargon*, *semi-creole*, *creoloid* have not been included. It is not clear whether the phases of pidgin development can be distinguished, and whether this would serve any purpose, see Thomason 1997a 83. *Mesolect*, *acrolect*, *basilect* also seem to be somewhat

Pidgins have no native speakers and develop in situations where several languages are spoken and the speakers of these languages do not share a common language (e.g. Bazaar Malay, Chinook Jargon). For a series of reasons (especially lack of education in, or adequate access to, a target language and the need to communicate regularly but for limited purposes),²⁰ the speakers do not learn one language fully, but create a new language, usually with the vocabulary from one of the languages (the lexifier) and ‘a crosslanguage compromise of the grammars of the languages in contact, with more or less (usually more) influence from universals of second-language learning’.²¹

Creoles are mixed languages with native speakers and their development is characterized by expansion and elaboration (e.g. Tok Pisin, Jamaican Creole English). As with pidgins they arise in contact situations with (usually) more than two languages, take their lexicon from one ‘lexifier’ language and their grammar is a cross-language compromise. Two main groups of creoles exist: ones that have developed from pidgins and ones that never passed through a stable pidgin stage. Some creolists, particularly in previous decades, have suggested that creoles can be characterized by certain linguistic features.²² However, the heterogeneous group of creole languages seems to resist specific linguistic classification. Some scholars have even argued that creole languages should not be classified separately from other languages on either diachronic or synchronic linguistic criteria. They assert that only non-linguistic criteria, such as socio-cultural circumstances, can lead to their identification.²³

‘A bilingual mixed language²⁴ can be recognized by the fact that its component structures come from two different languages, with little or

redundant: ‘such labels seem misleadingly precise for an essentially transitional phenomenon’ (Thomason 1997a 85).

²⁰ In some instances during colonial periods, Europeans have deliberately opted to use the language(s) of their slaves poorly to maintain distance, rather than allowing communication in the European language(s) (Wardhaugh 1998 107).

²¹ Thomason 2001 159.

²² See McWhorter 1998 and the collection of articles in McWhorter 2005 for an attempt to vindicate the creole typological class.

²³ See Mufwene 1997 55, 57. Mufwene even argues that the terms ‘pidgins’ and ‘creoles’ should be discontinued in favour of ‘contact varieties’.

²⁴ Also known as *intertwined languages*, see, for example, Bakker and Mous 1994 and Bakker 2000a. Considerable confusion exists in early pidgin and creole literature over the classification of bilingual mixed languages, particularly before the creation of this new category. See Bakker and Muysken 1995 and Thomason 2001 196–221 for general discussions of bilingual mixed languages and bibliography, see also Bakker 2000a, 2000b, Bakker and Mous 1994, Matras 2000a, 2000b, Matras and Bakker 2003, Moyer 2000, Myers-Scotton 2000, Smith 2000 for discussions of theoretical issues and descriptions of the languages. See Thomason 2001 218–221 for an annotated bibliography.

no distortion of the source-language linguistic material. [...] Bilingual mixtures differ from creoles and pidgins by the fact that only two languages are involved and by the evidence in their structures for bilingualism among their creators.²⁵ They can be divided into two groups depending on their speakers' socio-cultural circumstances: one 'arose as symbols of stubbornly persistent ethnic groups (sometimes for use as secret languages)' (e.g. Ma'a), and the other 'arose as symbols of new ethnic groups' (e.g. Media Lengua).²⁶ The former show features of the dominant language in both grammar and lexicon, with less compartmentalization into subsystems, the latter show compartmentalization and asymmetrical distribution (e.g. lexicon from one language, grammar from the other), though these distinctions are fluid. The processes and motivations behind the creation of bilingual mixed languages seem to vary greatly, though they do share an important sociolinguistic feature: 'they are all symbols of their speech communities – either badges of retention of part of a formerly more independent ethnic identity, or indicators of a newly independent ethnic identity'.²⁷ Bilingual mixed languages are in-group languages, not languages of wider communication as pidgins and creoles may be.

Finally, we have to define the term *lingua franca*, since it will be used repeatedly in this book and is sometimes, erroneously, thought to be directly interchangeable with the term 'pidgin'. *Lingua franca* denotes any language of wider communication between groups of speakers of diverse languages, or between native speakers of the *lingua franca* and these other groups. *Lingue franche* are defined by their functional role, include mixed and non-mixed languages and can be spoken or written or both.²⁸ English is a pidgin and non-pidgin *lingua franca* in parts of the world.²⁹

2.2.1 Mixed languages in the ancient world?

Despite the recent interest in bilingualism in the ancient world, very few theoretical discussions of mixed languages exist, and no real attempt to analyse their position within the inscriptional record and beyond has been made. Classicists rarely consider mixed languages as modes of communication, perhaps partly because the literature on pidgins and creoles is not

²⁵ Thomason 1997a 82.

²⁶ Thomason 2001 217. For more on the role of group identity in the creation of mixed languages, see Croft 2003, Golovko 2003, Thomason 2003b.

²⁷ Thomason 2001 218.

²⁸ See Wansbrough 1996 for a discussion of *lingue franche* in the Mediterranean, though his study is largely confined to chancery practice.

²⁹ See Myers-Scotton 2006 371–372.

well known to them, and partly because the linguistic processes involved do not fit comfortably with the precepts of Indo-European linguistics.³⁰ Another deterrent is that in some respects work on mixed languages, especially bilingual mixed languages, remains in its infancy and the terminology is discouraging. Moreover, the widely held assumption that pidgins and creoles are phenomena of the early modern and modern world is misleading, as is the understandable focus on classical texts and the standard language as the ‘norm’.

There may be cogent reasons why classical scholars have considered the phenomena inappropriate for the classical world, but few have set out the issues or suggested why different terminology would be more appropriate. This discussion is both necessary and overdue: references to possible Greek- and Latin-based pidgins and creoles have surfaced in linguistic analysis³¹ and the concepts of *creole cultures* and *creolization* are established in archaeological and historical studies of the ancient world (§§1.2, 1.3). Indeed, pidgin and creole linguists suggest that mixed languages may have been common in the ancient world, highlighting the army and intermarriage as possible sources.³²

In a section on pidgins and ‘reduced’ languages,³³ Adams argues that pidgins probably never existed in the ancient world and, if they did, that they were not ‘institutionalised’.³⁴ Adams prefers to interpret the possible evidence as learners’ foreigners’ or reduced Greek or Latin,³⁵ which underlines the closeness of these forms of language to the descriptions of pidgins and creoles. If we take the examples of Phonen’s letter³⁶ and the Bu Njem

³⁰ Thomason has repeatedly shown that mixed languages pose no problems for historical linguistics; they are simply not to be treated in the same way as languages with ‘normal transmission’, see for instance Thomason and Kaufman 1988 9–12.

³¹ See, for instance, Leiwo 1995, Polomé 1979, 1980, 1982. Similarly the debate over whether English and the Romance languages were at some stage creolized has surfaced repeatedly in linguistics, see Goyette 1999, Schlieben-Lange 1977, Thomason and Kaufman 1988 123–126, 306–315, 328–330.

³² Todd 1990 4. ³³ Adams 2003a 93–106.

³⁴ Adams 2003a 103. This term seems unsuitable as pidgins and creoles are, by their very nature, outside the remit of formalized institutions: they generally remain oral vernacular forms of communication (though there are some notable exceptions, such as Tok Pisin, see Holm 2000 96–101). For literacy and pidgins and creoles, see Mühlhäusler 1997 303–335, and for creole literature, see Mühleisen 2005.

³⁵ Adams 2003a 93.

³⁶ Adams 2003a 94–97, also Rea 1979. This is the letter of Phonen to Aburni found at Qasr Ibrim (Lower Nubia) and dated to the fifth century AD. The consensus seems to be that the author (King of the Blemmyes) and recipient (King of the Nubades) spoke different languages, and so used Greek as a *lingua franca*. The Greek employed is ‘marked by misuse of case endings and particularly of verb forms’ (Adams 2003a 94). Of the twenty-eight forms of the aorist in -α in the letter, only eleven have the expected first-person function, two have second-person

ostraca,³⁷ which Adams suggests are instances of learners' Greek and Latin respectively, we might contend that both instances *could* at least indicate the influence of varieties of Greek- or Latin-lexifier pidgins possibly used as *lingue franche*. Indeed, Aemilius Aemilianus, one of the writers at Bu Njem (a Roman military outpost in North Africa) who displays oddities in his Latin, 'seems to have negotiated with native camel drivers, and he used various African terms synonymously'.³⁸ Admittedly, neither hypothesis can be proven, but it is incautious to believe that all learners of Greek and Latin had access to education and were able, expected, or even desired to attain a full grasp of the language. In many cases a simplified, low-level knowledge might suffice. This circumstance is posited for the genesis of pidgins: they diverge from the lexifier because the speakers do not have full access to the means of acquiring the language, or because they do not necessarily desire, nor need, to attain full competence in that language. In the case of the Bu Njem ostraca, however, a problem for both hypotheses arises, namely that the oddities in the Latin, for instance the use of the nominative case as an all-purpose case ending in place of oblique cases, may simply be due to the mechanical filling in of gaps in an exemplar (see §3.1.3 for similar issues with the analysis of the La Graufesenque graffiti).³⁹

Adams also discusses 'foreigner talk' in Aristophanes (*Aves* 1678–9, the Scythian archer in *Thesmophoriazusae* 1001–end, *Acharnians* 100–7).⁴⁰ According to Adams, features of Aristophanic foreigners' Greek differ from that of pidgins as 'pidgins tend to have a distinctive grammar which cannot be directly derived from the grammars of the languages in contact, and an absence of inflectional morphemes'.⁴¹ However, sometimes features of the grammars of pidgins and creoles are at least partly traceable

function and fifteen have third-person. This is in contrast to the present indicative forms which generally seem to be correct. On these grounds, Adams suggests that Phoenen had not yet reached the section on the aorist in his Greek course: 'the system of aorist personal endings was a closed book to him' (97).

³⁷ Adams 1994, 2003a 100, 236, Marichal 1992.

³⁸ Adams 1994 103. ³⁹ Adams 2007 562–565.

⁴⁰ Adams 2003a 97–100. See also Brixhe 1988, Colvin 1999, Willi 2003. See Willi 2002 for articles on the language of Greek comedy. Adams does not define 'foreigner talk', and seems to employ it to describe both the language spoken by the foreigner and that spoken by the native speaker to the foreigner. 'Foreigner talk' often refers specifically to the simplified register used by natives in conversation with foreigners; indeed it seems that this form of speech may be found in most, if not all, languages, and certain features characterize it cross-linguistically. Adams refers to Hock and Joseph 1996 420–423 for 'foreigner talk'. Willi 2003 198–201 presents a discussion of simplified registers, 'foreigner talk', broken language and 'secondary foreigner talk'. He summarizes the features of modern foreigner talk at 213–214.

⁴¹ Adams 2003a 99. Inflectional morphemes are not totally absent from pidgins and creoles, though their status often changes from inflectional to derivational.

to one or more of the languages in contact, and the distinctive reductive features are commonly related to an innate human ability to simplify language, as found in baby talk, second-language acquisition and foreigner talk (p. 60, n. 40), exactly the label applied by Adams to the anomalous features. Indeed, Adams notes that the incorrect use of *-o* in nouns (γέροντο (*Thesmophoriazusae* 1123) and γύναικο (*ibid.* 1097))⁴² and *-ι* in verbs (e.g. κἀγὼ λέγι (*ibid.* 1104) and οὐ ζηλώσι σε (*ibid.* 1118))⁴³ cannot easily be assigned to learners' Greek, and suggests that the 'barbarian' might have been portrayed 'as not inflecting Greek with Greek morphemes (misunderstood or not) at all, but as inflecting multi-purpose endings of indeterminate origin on Greek roots. If this interpretation of the data were accepted, it would follow that in Aristophanes we come closest to finding pidgin-like characteristics.'⁴⁴

The distinction between 'foreigners' Greek' and certain features of pidgins is not clear-cut. Recent work on foreigners' language has shown that the linguistic phenomena produced often resemble the results of pidginization,⁴⁵ and it is debatable whether the line between pidgin and foreigners' language 'is an unbroken one, or whether there is a sharp distinction in kind, rather than one of degree.'⁴⁶ The Aristophanic evidence does not give us a direct transcript of pidgin Greek, but perhaps an interesting insight into what its characteristics might have included.

For a possible Roman parallel, we might look to the *Tristia*. Ovid refers to the linguistic situation at Tomi on the shores of the Black Sea (various 'barbarian' tongues plus a regional form of Greek) and hints at the possible existence of mixed languages. Greek speakers can converse with barbarians because *exercent illi sociae commercia linguae* (5.10.35) 'They communicate in a common language', something Ovid is unable to do: *nulla mihi cum gente fera commercia linguae* (3.11.9) 'I cannot communicate with these barbarous people.' Adams believes that he may be alluding to 'some sort of contact language, with elements not only of Greek and Getic, but also

⁴² See Willi 2003 206–211, 215–216 for more details of the *-o* ending in the *Thesmophoriazusae*.

⁴³ See Willi 2003 204–206 for more details on this iotacism in the *Thesmophoriazusae*.

⁴⁴ Adams 2003a 105.

⁴⁵ The influence of learners' language and foreigners' talk in the genesis and development of pidgins and creoles is under debate. Important work includes: Clements 2003, DeGraff 1999, Ellis 1994, Ferguson 1971, Ferguson and DeBose 1977, Klein and Perdue 1997, Mather 2000, Mufwene 1997, Mühlhäusler 1997 96–102, Muysken 2001, Romaine 1988 72–84, 210–212, Sebba 1997 79–91, Siegel 1997, 2004, Véronique 1994. If the interaction between broken language and foreigner talk is regular enough, the simplified and broken form of the target language may become a pidgin (Willi 2003 200).

⁴⁶ Bickerton 1976 186.

of other languages'.⁴⁷ Though Ovid cannot necessarily be trusted on the linguistic specifics, the terminology he uses (*sociae commercia linguae*) may function here as roughly equivalent to our term *lingua franca*.

Three issues, not explicitly raised by Adams in his discussion of possible mixed languages, are significant. First, our access to ancient mixed languages through textual evidence is at odds with the fact that mixed languages are rarely codified in writing. Furthermore, the use of amanuenses, scribes, professional stone-cutters, and the long history of literacy for both Latin and Greek, must have acted as an additional filter. Considering this, the ancient evidence might be more impressive than it appears at first glance. How far we should extrapolate remains debateable, but perhaps some of these intriguing 'abnormal' examples reflect the existence of ancient mixed languages.

Second, it has repeatedly been claimed that mixed languages cannot be defined without reference to their sociolinguistic history. Consequently, any comprehensive rejection of ancient mixed languages should compare the settings with those of documented societies.⁴⁸ Pidgins and creoles are so intimately connected with slave plantations and trading languages of the early modern and modern world that it might appear inappropriate to apply the same terms to contact languages arising in the distant past. However, contact situations created through trade, slavery, the army and colonization in the ancient world might match the environments described for more recent pidgins and creoles. In particular, descriptions of modern settings seem to relate well to coastal trading stations, mixed crews on ships, mining environments and *latifundiae*. In the absence of other terminology, and given the lack of an accepted definition of the socio-historical circumstances which might exclude similar environments in the ancient world, we should continue using this terminology. The description of the socio-historical background for bilingual mixed languages may also be appropriate for the ancient world. The concept of both an in-group, secret language reflecting a former independent identity when faced with the dominance of a new group, and a new hybrid language reflecting new mixed identity, may fit well with the various linguistic and cultural contacts of the Empire. Indeed, mixed languages have always existed, though Thomason is rightly pessimistic about our chances of recovering ancient examples.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Adams 2003a 106.

⁴⁸ See Arends 1995 for the socio-historical background of creoles and further bibliography, see also Mintz 1971.

⁴⁹ Thomason 2001 162 refers to their unwritten status until very recently and notes that 'mentions of languages of any kind are sparse in ancient documents'. The earliest recorded example, an Arabic-lexifier pidgin spoken in Maridi (perhaps in Sudan or Mauritania)

Third, almost all documented pidgins and creoles are created from contact between non-Indo-European and Indo-European languages, or between non-Indo-European languages.⁵⁰ Indeed it has been argued that typological distance ‘is a *sine qua non* for the radical reshaping of linguistic resources that is involved in both pidgin and creole formation’.⁵¹ In a situation of pidgin- or creole-type contact (p. 57) between highly inflectional, closely related languages, such as Greek, Gaulish and Latin, it is not certain which diagnostic features might be expected. It is possible that retention of inflectional morphology would be an appropriate feature, but with certain forms pervading other tenses or cases, also homogenization of word order and a reduction of marked or irregular features. Closely related languages will not undergo pidginization or creolization, but rather the creation of learners’ varieties and, under more contact, convergence,⁵² and in the case of dialectal convergence, dialectal levelling and *koineization* (§2.3).⁵³ This is because, in general, speakers of a language require less contact and education to learn a closely related language than a typologically very different one.

In Southern Gaul pidgins and creoles may well have formed in language contact situations between typologically different languages, e.g. Iberian plus Greek, Gaulish and/or Latin. Pidgins may also have formed on the coast due to communication requirements between traders speaking Etruscan, Phoenician, Punic, Iberian, Gaulish, Latin and Greek. In specific, highly bilingual contexts, bilingual mixed languages may have formed. However, linguistic contact in pidgin and creole-type circumstances between Greek, Latin and Gaulish languages would probably have resulted in different outcomes as we have just seen.

It is in texts which involve indigenous cultures, with little tradition of literacy and with access to little or no education, that we are likely to approach the reality of mixed languages, though the evidence will always be very rare.⁵⁴ But written evidence also supplies us with the possibility

described by the geographer Abu ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī (c. AD 1028–94), demonstrates that mixed languages have existed for at least a millennium (163–164), though see Wansbrough 1996 149–150 for problems with this evidence.

⁵⁰ Russenorsk is a possible example of a pidgin composed of Indo-European languages. Some argue that this is not a pidgin but rather ‘a variant of Norwegian with an admixture of Russian foreigners’ talk and elements from the native language of the speaker’ (Kortlandt 2000 4).

⁵¹ Winford 1997 5.

⁵² For convergence, see Myers-Scotton 2006 271–278. Changes may not be numerous, but even when they are, a shift to the L2 will not necessarily occur. *Sprachbunde* or convergence areas can be created (e.g. the Balkans).

⁵³ See Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill 2005 for these terms. For dialects, see Adams 2007 8–35, for *koineization* (mixing of dialectal features, levelling, simplification), 23–27, 698. See also Horrocks’s comments on the difference between the development of the Koine and the language of Aristophanes’ Scythian archer (2010 80–81).

⁵⁴ Meillet 1928 236 suggests texts which might contain evidence of mixed languages.

of deliberate mixture, which may not reflect any spoken mixed languages. In Gaul, the *defixiones* provide perhaps the best examples of deliberately confected mixed-language texts.⁵⁵ The Amélie-les-Bains tablets (*RIG* II.2 L-97) from *Gallia Narbonensis* (Pyrénées-Orientales) are written in a mixture of Latin and Gaulish, with influence from Greek.⁵⁶ A similar text from *Tres Galliae*, the Rom (Deux-Sèvres) *defixio* (*RIG* II.2 L-103), appears to show a mixture of Latin, Gaulish and possibly Greek.⁵⁷ It would be foolhardy to assume that these texts in any way represent a spoken mixed language, as bizarre linguistic confections are notorious in the magical sphere and are designed primarily to lend potency rather than to reflect mixed identities.⁵⁸

An intriguing inscription from a funerary context rather than the magical sphere perhaps offers us a glimpse of deliberate mixture to represent a mixed identity. This is a second-century BC inscription (*IGUR* 718) on an *olla* from near the Appian Way:⁵⁹

Text ^a	Transliteration	‘Standard’ Latin version ^c
Σέξστος ^b Κλώδιος	Sexstos Klodios	<i>Sextus^d Claudius</i>
Δεκόμου λιβεβτινος	Dekomou libebtinος	<i>Decimi libertinus</i>
αντι διον τερτιον νωναις	anti dion tertion nonais	<i>ante diem tertium nonis</i>

^a This is the reading of De Ruggiero 1878 no. 401. ΛΙΒΕΤΙΝΟC has been corrected to ΛΙΒΕΡΤΙΝΟC in later *corpora*, e.g. *IGUR* 718.

^b Σέξστος appears in *Gallia Narbonensis* in the bilingual Latin–Greek dedication to *Belus* (*IGF* 87).

^c There is, of course, a great deal of difficulty in pinning down a ‘standard’ Latin, whose nature will vary depending on the time period and which grammarians are followed (see Clackson and Horrocks 2007). In my version above, I use Ciceronian Latin as the benchmark.

^d *Sextus* might also be deemed a ‘standard’ Latin spelling, at least in some contexts, see Adams 1995 90–91 for a discussion of its ‘formal’ or ‘archaizing’ status at Vindolanda.

⁵⁵ A ‘feature of our *defixiones* is that they betray the language and concerns of common people’ (Lambert 2004 76).

⁵⁶ See Meid 2007 284–286, Mullen 2007a 32 note 6.

⁵⁷ The Greek element is far from assured (Blom 2009b), though Meid 2007 277–284 presents it as integral. Other *defixiones* which may show language mixing are *RIG* II.2 L-99 (Le Mas-Marcou, Le Monastère (Aveyron)) (though this seems more likely to show code-switching as the Gaulish and Latin parts appear to have been kept separate), *RIG* II.2 L-102 (Les Martres-de-Veyre (Puy-de-Dôme)) (though this text is too fragmentary to be certain), *RIG* II.2 L-104 (Le Mans (Sarthe)) (though it is not clear how the three texts are related since they are fragmentary).

⁵⁸ See Blom 2012b.

⁵⁹ For details of the language of the inscription, see Adams 2003a 101–103. Few precise, contextual clues exist for this object, for which I have been unable to find an image. The *olla* is described in *IGUR* as earthenware and small and found where the *Via Latina* diverges from the *Via Appia*.

This inscription has begged the question: Latin or Greek?⁶⁰ Written in Greek script, the seven inflected words are Latin in origin, but each has been assigned a Greek morphological ending.⁶¹ In fact, the first three words are personal names which can easily be transferred across languages (Chapter 5) and the noun λιβερτίνος (misspelt λιβεβτινος), though Latin, had been borrowed by Greek and cannot be used as diagnostic. The first two lines might assign the text to a Greek *corpus*. The final line, however, confirms the mixed nature of the text: the date is characteristically Latin, though thoroughly Graecized, with the Greek preposition αντι for Latin *ante*. The remaining words are Latin *diem tertium nonis* transliterated into Greek with Greek morphological endings. It seems that the wrong question has been asked. The text is a mixture of both Latin and Greek and we should arguably not be seeking to disentangle something that may be deliberately entangled.

Adams believes it is hazardous to accept the hypothesis that the inscription from the Appian Way may be a direct textual reflection of a mixed Latin–Greek language spoken in the bilingual community which used the graveyard. He is almost certainly right. His preference is to view the text as an instance of ‘reduced (learners’) Latin’,⁶² or, alternatively, as Greek, but with code-switching into Latin for the date.⁶³ But another option seems plausible. The text may be a deliberate mixed confection of the author to represent dual identity, which may well have been a defining feature of the bilingual community, considering the language and names in the other inscriptions found at this site.⁶⁴ Perhaps the author has even been inspired by mixed languages that could be heard in the area, but this exceeds the evidence.

Though very little evidence for mixed-language texts (whether representations of spoken mixed languages or deliberate mixtures of codes) emanates from Southern Gaul, this discussion has been a necessary reminder of the complexity of linguistic outcomes and the limitations of our ability to reconstruct them for the ancient world. Mixed languages most probably existed in antiquity, in linguistically diverse regions and in the right conditions: the onus is on classicists to prove that mixed languages did *not* exist in the ancient world.

⁶⁰ Mommsen regarded it as the Latin of a *peregrinus*, *CIL* I p. 210, but Moretti includes it in the *corpus* of Greek inscriptions from Rome (*IGUR* 718).

⁶¹ Admittedly the -ος endings could be a reflection of the pre-Imperial transcription of Greek ο for Latin *u*. However, considering the other unambiguously Greek inflections, it seems sensible to regard these endings as Greek too.

⁶² Adams 2003a 103. ⁶³ For code-switching in dates, see Adams 2003a 390–393.

⁶⁴ For a brief discussion of, and references to, the inscriptions, see Adams 2003a 101.

2.2.2 Creole cultures and cultural creolization

There seems to be a lack of appreciation of the origins of the term ‘creole’ in some archaeological discussions. ‘Creole’ originally meant Old World flora and fauna ‘born’ in the New World⁶⁵ but began to be applied to mixed cultures and creolization was used to refer to the process by which creole cultures were created.⁶⁶ The linguistic term ‘creole’ and ‘creolization’ (to describe the process through which a pidgin becomes a creole, i.e. becomes the native language of at least some people in the community) was secondary. The anthropological term ‘creolization’ has recently been applied (by Webster and others) to the processes of cultural change seen in the Roman Empire. This represents one of many attempts to ‘rethink Romanization’. It seems to me, used bluntly, to have little to recommend it. The assumption appears to be that ‘creolization’ can refer to the fusion of any two different cultures to create a new one in the context of asymmetric power relations, in Webster’s case the provincial contact cultures of Roman Gaul and Britain.⁶⁷ But the important characterization of creole languages and cultures is that they are formed through the rapid mixture of very different languages and cultures, forced together in distinctive circumstances and resulting in ‘major restructuring’.⁶⁸ Though we have seen that circumstances creating creole cultures and creoles are not unique to the eighteenth to twentieth centuries and slave plantations, the mixture of Celtic and Roman languages and cultures is not analogous. More specific contact situations created through trade, slavery, the army and colonization between typologically very different languages and cultures in the ancient world might make a better comparison. This term should, I argue, be reserved for these distinctive languages and cultures rather than being used as a catch-all term for cultural contact; though this is an issue that is still under debate in anthropological theory.⁶⁹

2.3 Contact linguistics and models of community dynamics

2.3.1 The direction of change: shift or maintenance?

We now turn to societal bilingualism which does not involve the creation of mixed languages, and for which we have considerably more extant evidence.

⁶⁵ Baker and Mühlhäusler 2007 84.

⁶⁶ The term shifts in meaning over time and space, see Stewart 2007a. For the concept of *creole cultures*, see, for instance, Chaudenson 2001 (see Nikiema 2004), Hazaël-Massieux and de Robillard 1997 (see Marshall 2001), Siegel 2005.

⁶⁷ Webster 2001. ⁶⁸ Baker and Mühlhäusler 2007 102.

⁶⁹ See Stewart 2007b for an insightful series of essays on the theory, ethnography and history of ‘creolization’.

A range of factors may affect the levels and patterns of bilingualism in a community: duration and nature of contact, number of speakers, role of imperfect learning, education, literacy, exogamy, age, gender, functions of the languages, level of cohesion in the community, role of language as an ethnic marker, linguistic and cultural similarity between, and relative socio-economic dominance and attitudes of, the groups.⁷⁰ These factors naturally intersect and a simple linear relationship with bilingualism does not exist. It is therefore difficult to make assessments as to the extent of bilingualism in the ancient world, especially for areas such as Southern Gaul for which little direct commentary is available. However, detailed analyses of the inscriptional record informed by knowledge of better-documented societies in the ancient world and information from archaeological and historical sources may lead to tentative conclusions. In particular, it is important to assemble evidence for contact languages, as this may provide information about cultural contacts and the nature of bilingualism in the communities.

Language contact can result in either maintenance (where the languages in contact continue to be spoken) or shift (where speakers of one language shift to the other).⁷¹ Language shift may ultimately result in language death.⁷² The speed and circumstances surrounding the extinction of languages may be significant in analysing cultural contacts and the levels of ethnolinguistic vitality of the speech communities (p. 69–71). Clackson and Horrocks argue that the languages surviving the Roman Empire are those ‘of small populations in inaccessible regions, those of nomadic peoples at the margins of the Empire, and those of large, long urbanized populations with deep-rooted literate cultures of their own’.⁷³ We return to the question of the decline of Gaulish and Greek, and the relative ethnolinguistic vitalities of the languages of Southern Gaul in Chapter 9.

The function of languages in bilingual societies has always been of particular interest to sociolinguists and may be a vital indicator of levels of stability. For bilinguals, choice of language can be significant for presentations of identity and intergroup or interpersonal relations. Occasionally the choice of language may be due to idiomatic or lexical gaps in one language, but ‘the major reason is the symbolic value of speaking that language’ in the multilingual context,⁷⁴ and crucial in this is the dynamic saliency of

⁷⁰ See Clyne 2003 20–69. See also Myers-Scotton 2006 45–66, who notes that cities, border areas and trading centres are particularly multilingual.

⁷¹ Fishman 1964 originally defined this field of study.

⁷² For language death and endangered languages, see Austin 2007, Crystal 2000, Dalby 2002, Dorian 2004, Dressler 1981, Hale 1992, Joseph 2004 181–193, Nettle and Romaine 2000, Spolsky 2004 209–215.

⁷³ Clackson and Horrocks 2007 88. ⁷⁴ Myers-Scotton 2006 143.

power and solidarity.⁷⁵ Fishman (1965) defined the abstract mixtures of statuses, role relationships, settings and topics which provoke similar language choices as ‘domains’.⁷⁶ It is impossible to reconstruct a picture of the language choice for some domains in ancient communities, as the inscriptional record is restrictive.⁷⁷ Certain texts indicate possible specialization, however, and hint at relations between language and domain; for instance, the Larzac lead tablets (*RIG* II.2 L-98) written in Gaulish at a relatively late date are connected with women and, probably, cultic practices.

In discussing the function of languages and societal bilingualism, whether unstable (leading to shift) or stable (leading to maintenance),⁷⁸ *diglossia* has been a particularly recurrent theme. Diglossia describes societal bilingualism where two linguistic varieties, of high (H) and low (L) prestige, are functionally compartmentalized. In Ferguson’s original formulation H and L are varieties of the same language and there is an absence of native speakers of H (*classic diglossia*); Fishman later extended the concept to include H and L of different languages (*extended diglossia*).⁷⁹ Diglossia, despite dispute over exact formulations, has enjoyed widespread currency in bilingualism studies, but its suitability for the ancient world has been questioned. Adams and Swain state that a leitmotif of their volume of studies into bilingualism in ancient society was ‘the inadequacy of the *diglossic opposition*’.⁸⁰ The concept carries over problems which have been highlighted in its use in modern societies, namely that it tends to polarize the complexity of bilingual societies and neglects interpersonal variation, but the application to the ancient world also adds another problem: identifying diglossia requires knowledge of the full range of functions of the languages within the community, which are often only partially recoverable for text-based ancient evidence. Whilst we should not rule out the existence of diglossic contexts

⁷⁵ Myers-Scotton 2006 150–152.

⁷⁶ An example of a domain might be ‘employment’, see Myers-Scotton 2006 76–80 for further discussion.

⁷⁷ Some regions of the ancient world offer a relatively rich variety of evidence, and therefore a description of linguistic specialization in certain domains can be attempted, for instance for Egypt and Delos (see Adams 2003a 527–641, 642–686).

⁷⁸ See Clackson 2012.

⁷⁹ For a bibliography of diglossia, see Hudson 1992; influential articles include Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1967, Hudson 2002a, 2002b; see Landry and Allard 1994a 16–20, Myers-Scotton 2006 80–89 for overviews. Hamers and Blanc 2000 294–296 discuss various sub-categories of diglossia, which may gain importance in studies of modern, nation–state communities, though the application of such rigid categories may be inappropriate for the ancient world. Schiffman (1993 118–119) notes that many alternatives have been offered for the terms *classic* and *extended diglossia*.

⁸⁰ Adams and Swain 2002 9–10. See also Adams 2003a 537–541, 754–755.

in the ancient world, we should not be unreasonably optimistic about our chances of recovering them.

Nevertheless, we should perhaps consider that the notion of H and L linguistic varieties can still be useful in our descriptions, as we can often identify communities with, broadly speaking, varieties of different prestige or function, whether or not they show the strict division into domains as expected under diglossia. We might, for example, view the linguistic situation in inland South-eastern Gaul during the Principate as follows: L1 (first language) Gaulish is spoken at home and in 'local' contexts by the majority of the population and has the status L, whereas L2 (second language) Latin is spoken in domains such as long-distance trade, education and the army and has the status H (not forgetting, of course, the H role of 'Roman' Greek, see §9.2). Within this broad schema there may have been diglossic areas, communities or individuals, but they will likely have formed only part of the patchwork of linguistic interactions.

Linguistic studies cannot supply a strict set of factors which diagnose whether a language in a modern bilingual environment might be maintained or whether shift will occur. In general, certain factors reoccur, but their relative importance is variable.⁸¹ If many speakers speak the H language in situations of extended diglossia, stable societal bilingualism is hard (though not impossible) to maintain and language shift (toward the H language) is the most likely result.⁸² Conversely, cases of classic diglossia seem to be relatively stable and, if shift occurs, it tends to be towards the L variety. Schiffman (1993) highlights possible conditions that might facilitate shift (either way) in extended diglossic situations, which serves to underline just how difficult it is to diagnose shift or maintenance. What is indisputable is that certain languages are *not* inherently 'weaker' or more prone to shift than others.⁸³ However, it is the case that the nature of the languages in contact (how similar they are linguistically) will have an impact on the resultant linguistic outcomes.

The concept of *ethnolinguistic vitality* was, to my knowledge, absent from discussions of ancient bilingualism before the publication of Mullen and James 2012 (see Mullen 2012b), but has potential heuristic value. Introduced to sociolinguistics in 1977, the concept has been elaborated in an

⁸¹ See Myers-Scotton 2006 69–70, 89–106.

⁸² See Myers-Scotton 2006 86–87 and Schiffman 1993; the Basque–Spanish language situation is often cited as an exception.

⁸³ It is important not to make statements such as 'diglossia has been noted as an important feature in a number of the world's languages' (Schiffman 1993 115). Diglossia is not a feature of languages but of linguistic communities, as Schiffman later admits (1993 120).

attempt to identify, *inter alia*, factors determining linguistic outcomes in situations of language contact.⁸⁴ The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is ‘that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting’.⁸⁵ The higher the ethnolinguistic vitality attached to a speech community, the more likely the language will be maintained, the lower the more likely shift will occur. Ethnolinguistic vitality can be divided into two main categories: objective and subjective. The main variables of objective ethnolinguistic vitality plus the level required for ‘high ethnolinguistic vitality’ are set out in Table 1 following Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977 (my additions in italics). In most cases the level required is high, but occasionally it is low, for instance, low levels of ‘emigration’ of the speech community are required for high ethnolinguistic vitality. Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality has been the focus of recent research and concerns the assessment by speech communities of variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality; it has been shown to be as important as objective variables in determining ethnolinguistic vitality. Establishing relative ethnolinguistic vitality in situations of language contact is important in diagnosing linguistic outcomes and in understanding the nature of the speech communities. The remark that ‘it is possible to chart changes in vitality of various ethnic groups and thereby be able to understand better the complex dynamics of ethnic group relations’⁸⁶ inspires the discussion in Chapter 9.

Whatever the ethnolinguistic vitality of speech groups in contact, language contact in situations of both maintenance and shift can lead to changes in any or all of the languages involved, in certain conditions leading to regional forms of both.⁸⁷ Of course for many parts of the ancient world the inscriptional evidence is not sufficient either in quantity or quality to characterize the nature of regional varieties. Considering the large area in which Latin was spoken as a ‘supraregional’ or ‘link’ language, and the generally *laissez-faire* attitude of the Romans towards indigenous languages, the regional variation in Latin must have been considerable, and, despite the problems with reconstructing them, regional varieties have sparked a range of publications.⁸⁸ Adams (2007) now provides the authoritative work,⁸⁹ and will form the basis of discussion at §9.2.3. The nature of the Greek spoken in Southern Gaul will be considered in §5.4 and the presence of Greek and Gaulish contact varieties in Southern Gaul will be assessed in Chapter 6.

⁸⁴ For some important studies, see Allard and Landry 1992, Bourhis and Sachdev 1984, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977, Harwood, Giles and Bourhis 1994, Hogg and Rigoli 1996, Landry and Allard 1994a, 1994b, Landry, Allard and Deveau 2007, Landweer 2000.

⁸⁵ Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977 308. ⁸⁶ Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977 317.

⁸⁷ For bibliography, see Adams 2007.

⁸⁸ For example, Coleman 1975, 1990, Herman 1983, Tovar 1964, Wallace 1988.

⁸⁹ See Mullen 2008b.

Table 1 *Indicators of high ethnolinguistic vitality*

Variables: having the following or high amounts of the following will encourage a high ethnolinguistic vitality assessment (unless otherwise stated)	
Status	Economic status
	Social status
	Socio-historical status
	Language status (within)
	Language status (without)
Demography	National territory
	Concentration
	Proportion
	Absolute numbers
	Birth rate
	Mixed marriages: low rate (or in favour of relevant group)
	Immigration: high rate (if incomers assimilate) or low (if not)
	Emigration: low
	<i>Dense and strong networks^a</i>
Institutional support	Mass media
	Education
	Government services
	Industry
	Religion
	Culture
	<i>Writing system^b</i>
	<i>Standard language^c</i>

^a See Myers-Scotton 2006 72–74.^b This aspect has not been thoroughly considered and though it is generally thought that literacy may have a retarding effect on the speed of linguistic change/loss, no precise formulations can be made and attempts to illustrate the argument have methodological flaws, for instance, Zengel 1962. It seems not unreasonable to classify having a writing system as an indicator of high ethnolinguistic vitality.^c Standard languages (particularly those of ‘global’ status, e.g. Latin, English) are documented as causing the reduction of varieties of the same language (convergence to the norm) and death to minority languages, see Clackson and Horrocks 2007 77. Having a standard language, then, seems to correlate with high ethnolinguistic vitality.

2.3.2 A model of contact linguistics and community dynamics

In Table 2, a new model of contact linguistics and community dynamics is presented, based on the discussion above. The linguistic composition of communities in contact has been shown to be dependent on two main variables: the typological similarity of the languages involved and the type of contact and the nature of the community, which can be assessed using

Table 2 *Contact linguistics and community dynamics*

	Intense language contact		Weaker language contact	
	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality
Typologically similar	<i>Language shift</i> (leading to Language death?) <i>Regional varieties</i> Convergence <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language</i> <i>maintenance</i> <i>Regional varieties</i> <i>Convergence</i> Koineization <i>Dialectal levelling</i> Bilingual mixed languages <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language</i> <i>maintenance</i> Language shift Regional varieties <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language</i> <i>maintenance</i>
Typologically dissimilar	<i>Language shift</i> (leading to Language death?) <i>Regional varieties</i> <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language</i> <i>maintenance</i> <i>Regional varieties</i> Bilingual mixed languages <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language</i> <i>maintenance</i> Language shift Creoles Pidgins <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language</i> <i>maintenance</i> Pidgins

ethnolinguistic vitality. In the boxes in the table the linguistic outcomes are presented, with italics indicating the most likely outcomes. For example, in situations with typologically similar languages spoken by groups with different ethnolinguistic vitality under intense contact, the most likely outcomes will be language shift towards the language of the higher-vitality group, perhaps even resulting in death of the language of the lower, and the formation of regional and learners' varieties,⁹⁰ and perhaps features of convergence, during this process. In instances of typologically dissimilar languages in situations of weaker language contact with uneven vitality between the groups, the most likely outcomes are language maintenance and learners' varieties of the language of the higher-vitality group, with perhaps some speakers shifting to the language of the higher-vitality group, though bilingualism is more likely. If the conditions are suitable, i.e. many languages are in contact, without education or bilingualism, then pidgins and creoles may form. The communities involved may show examples of any or all of the proposed

⁹⁰ For learners' varieties as different from regional varieties, see Adams 2007 260.

outcomes, creating a ‘pool of variants’ in multilingual situations.⁹¹ Multiple ‘codes’ may therefore be available to speakers (whether registers, dialects or languages), through which they can express their multiple identities.⁹²

The model remains at a general level, and it is not clear whether we can go beyond generalizations, the complexity of linguistic situations simply being too great. This macroscopic view might be attacked, but conceptually it is important to attempt to model our knowledge. With this sort of modelling it may be possible, based on evidence of the linguistic outcomes and our knowledge of the nature of the languages involved, to make some assumptions concerning the ethnolinguistic vitality of the communities and the intensity of contact.

⁹¹ Siegel 1997 136, see also Siegel 2004.

⁹² Linguistic models often focus on bilingual contact situations rather than multilingual or *Sprachbund* areas. Thomason 2003a 689 explains that ‘the reason for this focus is that basic processes and results, as well as their correlations with social factors, are much easier to isolate in less complex situations’. Nevertheless, multilingual situations are common and further complicate the retrospective identification of linguistic processes and contacts.

3.1 Bilingualism and the ancient world

Bilinguals and multilinguals outnumber monolinguals worldwide and ‘the idea that monolingualism is the human norm is a myth.’¹ It is not surprising, then, that bilingualism is a mainstay of sociolinguistic research and methodologies continue to develop apace.² The term ‘bilingual’ itself presents problems of definition. The traditional view of bilinguals as being able to speak two languages equally well has been superseded by a spectrum of definitions.³ The scale begins with minimal competence in a second language, practised by *dominant bilinguals*, and extends to *balanced bilinguals* with impressive linguistic skills and deep conversance with both cultures.⁴ Adams adopted this ‘all-embracing definition of bilingualism’ and so includes ‘even those whose second language is far from perfect’.⁵

The phenomena of bilingual speech can be traced in inscriptional evidence from the ancient world and provide rich evidence for language contact. Adams applied modern methodologies to the ancient evidence on

¹ Thomason 2001 31.

² The bibliography is vast, see Fögen 2003 4–56 for an alphabetical list. Some recent influential works include: Appel and Muysken 1987, Auer 1984, 1998a, Bhatia and Ritchie 2004, Clyne 2003, Edwards 1994, Ellis 1994, Field 2002, Gardner-Chloros 2009a, Goebel *et al.* 1996–7, Grosjean 1982, Gumperz 1982a, 1982b, Hamers and Blanc 2000, Heine and Kuteva 2005, Heller 1988, Hoffmann 1991, Holm 2004, Jacobson 1998a, 2001, Milroy and Muysken 1995, Muysken 2000, Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002, 2006, Nelde 1980, Paulston 1994, Poplack 1980, Romaine 1995, Thomason 1997a, 1997b, 2001, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Winford 2003. Recently established specialist journals, such as the *International Journal of Multilingualism* (first volume 2004) and *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* (2011), bear witness to the vitality of the field.

³ See Edwards 1994 55–60, Hamers and Blanc 2000 6–8, Myers-Scotton 2006 35–45.

⁴ *Balanced bilinguals*, i.e. those with equal competence in more than one language, need not always have high levels of competence and indeed in communities where the languages are functionally compartmentalized the competence may reflect this compartmentalization. Other terms for *balanced bilinguals* include *ambilinguals*, *equilinguals*, *fluent bilinguals* or *perfect bilinguals*.

⁵ Adams 2003a 8.

a larger scale than previously envisaged.⁶ The focus of other studies had generally been on Latin and Greek,⁷ the upper-class, learned imitation, loan-words and anecdotal evidence, but Adams shifted the emphasis by including code-switching, interference, sub-elite bilinguals, primary evidence, non-lexical phenomena and contact between Latin and other non-Greek languages.⁸ He made a vital contribution by making modern theory accessible to the uninitiated, which was no mean feat as the multifarious manifestations of bilingualism make modern theory complex and the terminology confusing. This terminology had grown organically over the decades and resulted in the same terms being used divergently, and different terms being employed for the same phenomenon.⁹ Furthermore, since this was new for the classical world, Adams established ‘a typology of texts with bilingual significance’.¹⁰ However, at this relatively early stage in the transmission of terms into classical scholarship, criticism and refinements should be attempted. The discussion of the typology of bilingual texts below will propose one substantial realignment; the examination of code-switching, borrowing and interference introduces only minor alterations to the scheme presented by Adams.

In an attempt to clarify the progression from modern bilingualism studies to studies of the inscriptional record, where possible the terms described will be illustrated by examples from the modern world, from Cicero (especially correspondence with Atticus), and finally from inscriptional evidence from

⁶ The collection of articles Adams, Janse and Swain 2002 (reviewed Katz 2004, Pinkster 2004) appeared shortly before Adams 2003a (reviewed Baldi 2004, Beard 2003, Dyck 2006, Tonkin 2005, Worthington 2004). Dickey 2003 reviews both books.

⁷ For a comprehensive, though now outdated, bibliography, see Fögen 2003 57–104. Influential authors in the field include: Biville (lexicon e.g. 1990 and 1995), Dubuisson (elite bilingualism e.g. 1980, 1981a, 1981b, 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1985b, 1992), Kaimio (historical approach e.g. 1979, see the critical review Dubuisson 1985a), Millar (multilingualism in the Roman Near East, e.g. 2011), Rochette (historical approach e.g. 1997), Wenskus (code-switching in literature e.g. 1998). Another focus has been Egypt, see Adams 2003a 527–641, Fewster 2002. Recent edited volumes include Biville, Decourt and Rougemont 2008, Cotton *et al.* 2009, Mullen and James 2012, Papaconstantinou 2010, Ruiz Darasse and Luján 2011.

⁸ For code-switching and interference, see Adams 2003a 18–29, 297–416, sub-elite bilinguals 14–15, primary evidence, non-lexical phenomena and contact between Latin and other non-Greek languages 15–18, 111–296. The recent volume *Bilinguisme gréco-latin et épigraphie* (Biville, Decourt and Rougemont 2008) was influenced by Adams’s approach. However, whilst some papers are interesting and important in their own right, as regards typologies and terminologies, and despite the exhortation in the introduction, the impression seems to be one of a step backwards, see Mullen 2010.

⁹ For issues with the terminology, see Adams 2003a 18–29, Clyne 2003 70–73, Romaine 1995 180; the term *interference* poses particular problems. Biville 2002, Dubuisson 1983a, Rochette 2001 discuss terminology for bilingualism used in the ancient world.

¹⁰ Adams 2003a 3.

Gaul. This will demonstrate that the problems even with analysing Cicero's letters within the framework of modern bilingualism are minor compared to the complexity of interpreting the inscriptional information.¹¹ In the discussion, language A refers to the primary language of texts, language B to the secondary. Language A and L1 (first language) and language B and L2 (second language) are not necessarily the same.

3.1.1 Code-switching

Code-switching¹² is described by Adams as a 'full-blown switch from one language into another within one person's utterance or piece of writing'.¹³ Seen by Weinreich (1953) and others as an aberration, it is now generally thought to be, at least in some cases, a mark of balanced bilingualism.¹⁴ Two main types can be distinguished: bilingual code-switching (associated with balanced bilinguals) and restricted code-switching (associated with dominant bilinguals).¹⁵ A large proportion of recent research has focused on the identification of linguistic constraints which may determine possible forms of switching in bilingual code-switching.¹⁶ Counter-examples and the lack of consensus have led many scholars to admit that the theories do not propose constraints, but rather, strong tendencies, and it seems that this is not a particularly fruitful line of enquiry.¹⁷

¹¹ Though the letters are carefully composed, they generally represent a more conversational style than that of lapidary inscriptions. For Cicero's use of Greek, see Adams 2003a 308–347, Baldwin 1992, Dubuisson 1992, Dunkel 2000, Hutchinson 1998, Steele 1900, Swain 2002.

¹² *Code-alternation*, where 'both languages are used by the same speakers, but in different settings and therefore without code-switching' (Thomason 1997c 195), is also an important feature of bilingual speech, though less well studied, see *ibid.* 195–198 and Thomason 2001 136–139, 2003 697–699. Cf. *corpora* of letters from the ancient world whose authors use different languages depending on the recipient or the topic of discourse. The code-alternation in the letters of Claudius Terentianus (*P.Mich.* VIII 467–471 in Latin, 476–480 in Greek) poses some problems for analysis, see Adams 1977, 2003a 593–597, Halla-aho 2003, Langslow 2002 40–41.

¹³ Adams 2003a 19. Important works include: Auer 1998a, Bullock and Toribio 2009, Gardner-Chloros 2009a, Gumperz 1982a, 1982b, Heller 1988, 1995, Isurin, Winford and de Bot 2009, Jacobson 1998a, 2001, Milroy and Muysken 1995, Muysken 1997, 2000, Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002, Poplack 1980. See Jacobson 1998b for an overview of research trends.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Adams 2003a 297–298, Muysken 2000 1–2, Poplack 1980. For bilingualism and intelligence, see Edwards 1994 66–71.

¹⁵ See Hamers and Blanc 2000 267 for these terms. See Franceschini 1998, Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998 for evidence that full competence in the languages is not a prerequisite for code-switching. Thomason 2003a 697 remarks that code-switching is probably not a major factor in 'shift-induced interference', though it undoubtedly does have some effect.

¹⁶ See Clyne 2003 81–92, Hamers and Blanc 2000 261–265, Muysken 2000 12–27, Myers-Scotton 1993, 2006 239–271, Poplack 1980 585–588, Winford 2003 127–163.

¹⁷ See Muysken 2000 27–29 for an interesting discussion of this issue. His own theory is set out at Muysken 2000 30–32. Some possible constraints on Ciceronian code-switching are discussed by Dunkel 2000.

Using modern theory, code-switching is subdivided by Adams¹⁸ into *tag-switching*, *inter-sentential switching* and *intra-sentential switching*.

- (a) *Tag-switching* is the insertion of a tag, such as an exclamation or interjection, in a different language from the rest of the utterance or text, e.g. ‘I mean’, ‘you know’,¹⁹ τί λοιπόν; ‘What else is there?’ (Cicero *Att.* 115.20).²⁰ It is not unusual for Greek or Latin epitaphs to have a tag in the other language at the beginning or end. This is demonstrated in several inscriptions from the South of France, e.g. Greek ταῦτα at the end of a Latin epitaph (*IGF* 126) (see §9.3.2). The line between tag-switching and inter-sentential switches (below) is very thin, and modern bilingual studies often regard tag-switching as a sub-category of inter-sentential switching. Adams includes these additions to epitaphs under tag-switching ‘because they are so distinctive in type and in their placement’.²¹ There seems to be no advantage in changing this categorization.
- (b) *Inter-sentential switching*²² is characterized by a switch in languages between sentence or clause boundaries, e.g. ‘sometimes I’ll start a sentence in Spanish (*sic*), y termino en español’;²³ *mihi simulatio pro repudiatione fuerit*. τοῦτο δὲ μηλώσῃ ‘I shall interpret pretence as rejection. You will probe this matter’ (Cicero *Att.* 293.2). Adams cites text 30 (Marichal 1988) of the *corpus* from La Graufesenque as exhibiting

¹⁸ See Adams 2003a 21–25, also Rochette 2007 and Swain 2002. See Poplack 1980 for the terminology. Scholars still do not agree as to how the term code-switching should be employed, for instance some scholars use code-switching to refer to inter-sentential switching, and code-mixing for intra-sentential switching, see Muysken 2000 1. To avoid confusion I follow the terminology employed by Adams.

¹⁹ See Hamers and Blanc 2000 259 (though they call this type of code-switching *extra-sentential code-switching*) and Romaine 1995 122.

²⁰ References are to Shackleton Bailey 1965–70. ²¹ Adams 2003a 21.

²² Muysken 1995, 2000 subdivides intra-sentential switching into: *alternation* (to be distinguished from *code-alternation*), *insertion* and *congruent lexicalization*. *Alternation* is code-switching where the two languages remain relatively separate (2000 96–121), *insertion* involves the insertion or embedding of constituents of language B into language A (2000 60–95), *congruent lexicalization* is switching ‘of material from different lexical inventories into a shared grammatical structure’ (2000 3, see also 122–153). Adams does not mention the third category, but rather adds another from Bentahila and Davies: *leaks* (‘minor elements of the psycholinguistically prior or dominant language find their way even into what is clearly intended to be discourse in the second language’ (1998 42)). Adams remarks that ‘it must [...] be acknowledged that this type of ‘code-switching’ is virtually impossible to distinguish from (morphological) interference’ (2003a 25). There seems little point in retaining this category; Adams hardly uses it after the introduction. Indeed, it is not clear whether the subdivision of intra-sentential code-switching is useful for this discussion. It is mentioned here for completeness.

²³ Poplack 1980 594.

inter-sentential switching. Marichal's erroneous classification of the text as Gaulish, but Latinized, was probably influenced by the Gaulish opening word *tuθos*, almost certainly meaning 'kiln'. The text, in fact, seems to show code-switching between a Gaulish heading and a Latin textual body. According to Adams, it might be possible to view *tuθos* as a loan-word from Gaulish into Latin, but this seems unlikely. The apparent cognate *furnus* 'kiln' appears regularly in the other Latin texts and, perhaps more significantly, the form *tuθos* has not been 'nativized', i.e. Latinized in anyway. Not only does it retain Gaulish morphology, but the theta would be unexpected in established Latin loan-words. It is possible that it represents a code-switch motivated by a conscious decision by the scribe that the translation of *tuθos* by *furnus* was not adequate, or, if unconscious, it may be a case of lexical interference as described below.²⁴ Adams's proposal that the heading may have been written in another hand lacks supporting evidence. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the first line complicates the analysis.

- (c) *Intra-sentential switching* occurs within the sentence or clause boundary, e.g. *Yo anduve in a state of shock pa dos días* 'I walked around in a state of shock for two days' (Spanish–English),²⁵ *nunc autem ἀπορῶ quo me vertam* 'But now I do not know where to turn' (Cicero *Att.* 321.2). Adams discusses an example from La Graufesenque (Marichal 1988 number 14).²⁶ The language of the inscription is predominately Gaulish, but in a Gaulish sentence *extra tuθ* appears, probably a Latin preposition with a Gaulish dependent noun. In the absence of the exact cognate in the Continental Celtic corpus, *extra* as Gaulish cannot be totally excluded.²⁷ However, reconstruction of the proposed Gaulish form suggests **ek(s)t(e)ro*²⁸ *vel sim.*,²⁹ so it is likely that *extra* marks a code-switch into Latin.³⁰

²⁴ For the possible meaning of *tuθos*, see Adams 2003a 696, Delamarre 2003 304, Marichal 1988 97.

²⁵ Cited in Muysken 1997 361.

²⁶ See Adams 2003a 702–703, 2007 299–300, Flobert 1992 111, Marichal 1988 79.

²⁷ Indeed Lambert prefers to take *extra* as Gaulish (2008 106).

²⁸ On the presence or absence of *-s-*, see Russell 1988b 118–123. For *ex-*, *exs-*, see Delamarre 2003 169–172. For the name element *Ex-*, *Exs-*, *Es-*, *Ec-*, see GPN 202–203, KGP 212–213.

²⁹ The Insular Celtic cognates (Old Irish *echtar*, Middle Welsh *eithr*) do not help to reconstruct the quality of the final vowel.

³⁰ See Ernout and Meillet 1959 204, cf. *intra*, *infra*.

3.1.2 Borrowing

Borrowing refers to the ‘employment of an integrated term [e.g. loan-word] of external origin’,³¹ e.g. *pyjama* (Persian via Hindi into English), *raeda* (Celtic into Latin), *machina* (Greek into Latin), ΠΠΑΙΤΩΡ (*RIG I G-108*) (Latin into Gaulish).³² Research over more than twenty years has concluded that ‘given enough time and intensity of contact, virtually anything can (ultimately) be borrowed’.³³ This scholarship has initiated a shift in focus in studies of the ancient world from the borrowing of loan-words to borrowing a range of linguistic items. Borrowing is relevant to bilingualism in that it is, in origin at least, a bilingual phenomenon. The types of features borrowed have the potential to inform us about the nature of cultural and linguistic contacts at the point of transfer (§3.3).

Borrowing and code-switching are quite similar, indeed it is generally accepted that code-switching may be a precursor to borrowing.³⁴ Certain criteria help to differentiate.³⁵ First, borrowed items function in the recipient language as native elements (used by monolingual speakers, often with some degree of morphophonemic integration).³⁶ Second, the ‘centrality and stability in the system of the recipient language’ are of importance.³⁷ Namely, for the ancient world, the distribution of the item in the extant texts may give an idea of whether it had generally been accepted into the recipient language (borrowing), or whether its attestation was *ad hoc* (code-switching or interference).

In bilingual situations often modifications of either L1 or L2 may be *ad hoc*, short-lived or restricted to the individual or a small group of speakers. The nature of inscriptional evidence may significantly reduce the *ad*

³¹ Adams 2003a 26–27.

³² Johanson 1999 argues that *code copying* should replace the term *borrowing*, as it more accurately describes the actual process. However, this has not been generally adopted. See Adams 2003a 441–459 for borrowing of vocabulary. See Adams 2003a 29 for a bibliography of the work on Greek–Latin loan-words, to which should be added Blanc and Christol 1999.

³³ Harris and Campbell 1995 149. Important works include: Field 2002, Heine and Kuteva 2005, Poplack and Sankoff 1984, Thomason 2001, Thomason and Kaufman 1988.

³⁴ See, for example, Thomason 1997c 189–195, 2003a 695–696. Thomason argues that code-switching and borrowing are on a continuum, see also Myers-Scotton 2006 253–260.

³⁵ See Thomason 2001 133–136 for possible ways of classifying instances of code-switching and borrowing.

³⁶ For *integration* or *nativization*, see Clyne 2003 142–152, Joseph 1987 93–102, Myers-Scotton 2006 219–226. Other possible markers of integration are syntactic, semantic, prosodic, tonemic and graphemic. There are, of course, exceptions, see Hock and Joseph 1996 270 for ‘hyper-foreignization’ of loan-words.

³⁷ For this terminology, see Clyne 2003 145–146.

hoc modifications passed down to us, but it can often be impossible to distinguish between *ad hoc* phenomena and borrowings.³⁸ The patchiness of our evidence means that it is often difficult to say whether the item under scrutiny has been accepted into the speech community, particularly when we are dealing with contact between closely related languages where phonological or morphological nativization is sometimes not identifiable. Moreover, though the item may not have been borrowed into the language generally, the authors of specific texts may have borrowed the items into their idiolects, or the items may characterize a specific community code, or, in many cases in our ancient evidence, the speech of a literary community. This is a relevant distinction to make in our discussions, wherever possible.³⁹

Both *calquing* and *loan-shifting* seem to fit in the category of borrowing, as the processes involve borrowing the semantic force of the foreign term.⁴⁰ A *calque* is the translation of a foreign expression by a new native form which matches the foreign form, e.g. *gratte-ciel* a French calque of *skyscraper*, *qualitas* a Ciceronian calque of ποιοιτης (*Nat. Deor.* 2.94).⁴¹ This phenomenon requires reasonable competence in a second language and is often described as the product of the deliberate action of highly educated members of society in creating technical discourse and poetry. Inscriptional evidence suggests that the process may have been more widespread. *Memoriae causa*, for instance, is a translation of μνήμης χάριν⁴² which is common in Asia Minor and regularly appears in the Greek inscriptions of Southern Gaul.⁴³ *Aquiferas* in the Amélie-les-Bains tablets (*RIG* II.2 L-97) is a *hapax legomenon* in Latin and might be a calque on ὑδροφόρους.

Loan-shifting is the process through which a word undergoes semantic extension on the model of a foreign counterpart, namely when ‘the pre-existing degree of overlap between A and B facilitates the semantic

³⁸ Thomason 1997c 183 warns that we should not disregard the *ad hoc* features as ‘no linguistic phenomenon that is found in an individual’s speech can be ruled out as a permanent feature of the language of an entire speech community’.

³⁹ See Mullen and James 2012. See Mullen 2011a for a discussion of imitation.

⁴⁰ See Winford 2003 42–46 for a classification of lexical contact phenomena, including loan-shifts and native creations. Adams refers to *contact-induced change of a creative type*, by which he means borrowing and extension of forms (Winford’s *native creations*), sometimes through mis-analysis, e.g. the creation of a declension in *-e*, *-enis* in Latin through contact with Greek (2003a 486–490).

⁴¹ See Adams 2003a 459–461, Nicolas 1996.

⁴² For the two forms in a bi-version bilingual inscription, see Adams 1998 236, Speidel 1994 no. 688c.

⁴³ *IGF* 17, 19, 23, 26, 28, 29, 33, 42, 69.

extension of A'.⁴⁴ For example, Cicero uses Latin *conquirere* in the following passage with the meaning of the Greek equivalent, συζητεῖν, 'dispute with', as opposed to the Latin 'seek, procure, collect':⁴⁵ *Rutilus quidem noster etiam sub ipsis Numantiae moenibus solebat mecum interdum eiusmodi aliquid conquirere* (*Rep.* 1.17) 'In fact our friend Rutilus sometimes used to debate such a topic with me even beneath the very walls of Numantia.' Adams states that loan-shifting is often a high-class feature, but he also presents evidence from non-technical, lower-class discourse. In certain Celtic-speaking areas Latin *ualles* 'valley' has undergone semantic shift to include the meaning 'stream, watercourse', based on the equivalent term in Celtic *nantu/o-* meaning 'valley' and 'stream, watercourse'.⁴⁶

3.1.3 Interference

Interference is the process through which features from L1 are unintentionally transferred into an utterance or text in L2. 'The presence of *interference* phenomena (as indeed code-switching) in an utterance or text implies that the speaker/writer is bilingual, if only imperfectly so.'⁴⁷ The phenomena can be orthographical, morphological, phonetic, lexical⁴⁸ or syntactic.⁴⁹ The last of these can be illustrated in the following phrase showing L1 French interference in L2 English: 'I've been learning English since three years', the interference deriving from the French construction 'depuis trois ans'. A much earlier example may be found in a Massaliote inscription where the dedicatee has his *agnomen* incorrectly added as ὃς καὶ Μένων (for ὁ καὶ Μένων) (*IGF* 12), probably due to interference from the equivalent Latin formula *qui et* (§9.3.2).

Some features assigned to interference could easily be mistaken for code-switching and borrowing.⁵⁰ Adams notes that the best way of assigning the features to either borrowing or interference is the direction of the transfer (L2 to L1 (borrowing) or L1 to L2 (interference)), though the bidirectionality of borrowing (and to a much lesser extent interference)

⁴⁴ Adams 2003a 523; for loan-shifts, see *ibid.* 461–468. No full-length, systematic discussion as yet exists.

⁴⁵ See Adams 2003a 462–463. ⁴⁶ See Adams 2007 300–301. ⁴⁷ Adams 2003a 27.

⁴⁸ Adams does not use the term *lexical interference*. It refers to the use of a word or meaning of a word from L1 in L2 when imperfect knowledge of L2 has led to the assumption that the same word or meaning is present in both.

⁴⁹ Syntactic interference is common in texts, see Adams 2003a 496–520. There are other options, e.g. *tonemic interference*, see Clyne 2003 76–79, but only the most pertinent to the material from the classical world are mentioned here.

⁵⁰ 'They lie at opposite ends of a continuum; the difference between them is not categorical' (Thomason 2001 133).

occasionally causes problems.⁵¹ More important is an understanding of the extra-linguistic context in which the feature occurs, e.g. the Ciceronian creation *facteon* (Cicero *Att.* 16.13.12) is clearly a well-considered code-switch. Interference generally affects L2, rather than L1 as in the Ciceronian example, and is ‘unintentional and beyond the control of the writer, whereas code-switching [...] is often a manifestation of linguistic skill’.⁵²

The graffiti from La Graufesenque again illustrate the difficulties in identifying bilingual phenomena. Phonological interference in the Latin may be present in the vessel name *paropsides*, which is found in the probably Celtic form *paraxidi* even in some of the Latinate inscriptions (Marichal 1988 numbers 30, 47, 66). This very likely shows the Celtic sound change /ps/ > /xs/.⁵³ A similar phenomenon at La Graufesenque may be the form *acitabulum* for Latin *acetabulum*, showing the Gaulish merger of *e*: and *i*:, which was represented graphically with *i*. Marichal records the former ‘Gaulish’ form forty-one times, the latter nine, and Adams notes that of the nine attestations, only two are in ‘Gaulish’ inscriptions (17 and 93),⁵⁴ remarking that this ‘phenomenon may be described as a form of “orthographic” code-switching’.⁵⁵ It is not clear why this is not phonological interference, as described above through evidence from the same *corpus*. It seems likely that interference from the writers’ L1 has affected their version of this word in their L2, but the authors of tablets 17 and 93 were well trained and cautious enough not to admit this interference in their writing, which may have characterized the spoken Latin of the whole community. Indeed 17 and 93 show other features which suggest that the language is ‘self-consciously Latinate’, including interpuncta and I-longa in 93.⁵⁶ This feature serves to illustrate the difficulties in identifying bilingual phenomena accurately. Considering how widespread the feature is, *acitabulum* could perhaps also be classified as a borrowing, namely a Latin word that has been nativized in Gaulish. It is probable that in the close-knit community of La Graufesenque bilingual interference features over time modified the languages spoken in the area

⁵¹ See Langslow 2002 42–44.

⁵² Adams 2003a 28. Interference can affect ‘balanced bilinguals’, particularly when their minds are for any reason not at full capacity, though this is not generally mentioned. Indeed, interference in the speech of balanced bilinguals in code-alternation situations seems to support this (Thomason 2003a 697–699).

⁵³ For *paraxidi*, and the possibility that it may be an internal Latin development, see Adams 2003a 438–440.

⁵⁴ Adams 2003a 710, Marichal 1988 58. ⁵⁵ Adams 2003a 710.

⁵⁶ See Adams 2003a 710. For the I-longa, see Marichal 1988 60–65, Flobert 1992 106 (Flobert’s theory that the scribes at La Graufesenque attended schools in the Gallo-Roman countryside is unconvincing; it seems much more likely that they would have been trained ‘on the job’ by scribes employed for this purpose).

(i.e. became borrowings). However, the nature of the evidence is bureaucratic (sometimes based on lists) and highly specialized, and it is unlikely that any more than a fleeting glimpse of the possible spoken varieties can be attained.⁵⁷

3.1.4 Summary of key terms

- (1) *Code-switching*: the phenomenon of switching between languages within one utterance or text. It can be practised by both balanced and dominant bilinguals. Subdivisions include: tag-switching, inter-sentential switching and intra-sentential switching.
- (2) *Borrowing* (including *calquing* and *loan-shifting*): the adoption of any linguistic element into one language from another. The items function in the recipient language as native elements and can be used by monolingual speakers, often with some degree of morphophonemic integration.
- (3) *Interference*: the process through which features from L1 are unintentionally transferred into an utterance or text in L2.

3.2 Typology of bilingual texts

Adams (2003a) devoted significant space to a discussion of his typology of bilingual texts. He distinguishes between *bilingual texts*, *texts implicitly reflecting bilingual situations*, *mixed-language texts* and *transliterated texts*. I largely follow Adams's schema as shown in Table 3, though he does not set out his typology in tabular form. I have, however, made some revisions. I have allowed for specification of the number of languages and versions involved in the text by replacing, in the first category, *bilingual texts* with *bi-/tri- version bi-/tri- lingual texts*.⁵⁸ Important factors to consider in describing these texts may be where they reside on a continuum of 'equivalence' (the versions may say exactly the same things or not at all) and whether they provide idiomatic (*sensus de sensu*) or non-idiomatic (*uerbum e uerbo*) versions. I have chosen to avoid rigid sub-categorization of bi-version texts along these lines and others based on visual parameters,

⁵⁷ For elaboration on this point, see Blom 2012a and Mullen forthcoming.

⁵⁸ Modern linguists may take exception to the use of the term 'text' in this context (Antje Wilton p.c.); however, since this terminology has been used by Adams and no convenient alternative is available, it seems sensible to continue with the term.

Table 3 *Typology of bilingual texts*

2 <i>Texts implicitly reflecting bilingual situations</i>				
Adams	1 <i>Bilingual texts</i>		3 <i>Mixed-language texts</i>	4 <i>Transliterated</i>
	Two separate parts in different languages and ‘a content which is usually, at least in part, common to both’ ^a	‘An “implicitly bilingual” text is on the face of it in a single language, but there is reason to think that another language played a part in its formation’ ^b	Texts showing any form of code-switching or code-mixing	Composed in language A, but the script is that of language B
Revised	1 <i>Bi- (/ tri-) version bi- (/ tri-) lingual texts</i> ^c	2 <i>Texts displaying bilingual phenomena</i> ^d	3 <i>Mixed-language texts</i>	4 <i>Transliterated texts</i>
	As above (plus specification of number of versions and languages)	Composed in language A, but showing interference/code-switching/borrowing from language B	3a Written in genetically mixed languages (see §2.2) or 3b codes that are so mixed that it is impossible to identify the dominant language (see p. 85) ^e	As above. Can involve <i>texts displaying bilingual phenomena</i> or <i>bi-version bilingual texts</i>

^a Adams 2003a 30.^b Adams and Swain 2002 2.^c Occasionally there may be two (or more) changes of language, e.g. *IGF* 101 (Latin, Greek, Latin), in which case the term *tri-version bilingual text* should be used. If three languages are involved the text may be termed *tri-version trilingual*, though as yet there is no instance of this from Southern Gaul.^d In some cases, it may be difficult to assess whether the relevant features are contact phenomena or whether the changes are in fact due to a process of coincidental internal change in language A, or even the external influence of a language that is poorly understood or unattested (§1.3.1). See, for example, Adams 2003a 526, Clyne 2003 93, Haugen 1958 777. If the features are likely to be the result of internal change, the texts should not be termed ‘bilingual’.^e See Auer 1998b 13–21 for parameters for differentiating between alternation of two codes and mixed codes.

since the categorization becomes increasingly restrictive and the evidence discussed in this book works well with looser descriptions.⁵⁹ I also prefer

⁵⁹ Reh 2004 presents a typology of multilingual public writing, which divides bi-version texts into four based on content (duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping and complementary). This can be contrasted with other categorizations by modern sociolinguists including Backhaus’s typology (2007 90–99) based on musical terminology (homophonic, mixed, polyphonic) and Sebba’s division between complementarity and parallelism (2012 14–15). Since sub-categorization appears to be proliferating and interesting models are being offered of

the term *texts displaying bilingual phenomena* for category 2, rather than *texts implicitly reflecting a bilingual situation*. Perhaps most significantly, I have reserved the term *mixed-language texts* for texts written in genetically mixed languages (3a) or codes that are so mixed that it is impossible to identify the primary language (3b). In contrast, Adams includes texts showing any form of code-switching under this category. Texts where code-switching is brief enough to allow identification of the primary language of the text are included in my category *texts displaying bilingual phenomena* (2). Code-switching is a bilingual phenomenon and texts predominately in one language but showing brief code-switches (e.g. a Greek epitaph with a switch into Latin for a brief closing formula, see §9.3.2) should, I contend, be classified differently from the highly entwined mixtures of languages (3b), such as the bilingual creation from near the Appian Way discussed in the preceding chapter (p. 64–65).

3.3 Interpreting bilingual phenomena

This section will consider the interpretation of bilingual phenomena in textual evidence, including the categories of bilingual texts just described, though excluding *mixed-language texts* as these were considered previously (§2.2.1). This interpretive analysis is clearly necessary to transcend a simple categorization of the evidence. However, numerous factors such as the ‘degree of bilingual proficiency, mode of bilingual processing, political balance between the languages, language attitudes, and type of interactive setting’ are all associated with bilingual phenomena.⁶⁰ Models of modern bilingualism are constantly being developed and refined, and discrepancies between them underline the complexity of the field. Bilingualism is highly context dependent and thus only trends and tendencies can be proposed.⁶¹

Attempting to apply these analyses to the ancient world presents new problems. First, they were created for evidence which has ample contextualizing information and we have seen that our evidence from the ancient world is often very poorly contextualized (§2.1). Second, they were not based on textual evidence but speech, and, when transferring the analysis to the written sphere, we are treating an arguably less natural manifestation of bilingual performance (§§2.1, 2.2.1). Nevertheless, the transfer seems to work, since,

multilingual writing and the monolingualism/multilingualism of communities and individuals (e.g. Reh 2004 16), I hope to discuss sub-categorization and its relevance for the ancient material elsewhere.

⁶⁰ Muysken 2000 3. ⁶¹ See Giles 1992, Langslow 2002 50–51.

even in speech, difference in intentionality and a scale of consciousness can be posited for bilingual choices. Bilingual speakers have an ability to make rapid and apparently subconscious decisions about language use, but certain choices, such as instances of divergence, might be interpreted as more considered.⁶² Written choices are generally more deliberate than those in speech, but again a range can be identified, with interference features lying at the subconscious end of the scale and bi-version bilingual texts perhaps at the most deliberate. This must be considered in any analysis.

3.3.1 Bi-version bilingual texts

The linguistic composition of the area in which bi-version bilingual texts were created and the languages used in the text can supply basic information about the identity of the author and/or referent and the community. One of the versions, for example, may be symbolic, rather than included for communicative purposes, indicating that a bilingual text does not necessarily reflect a bilingual community. The observation that bi-version bilingual texts can only be produced in areas where the cultures of both languages are acceptable to the community seems to be valid.⁶³ Bi-version bilingual texts are rare in situations of polarization⁶⁴ and conflict such as apartheid.⁶⁵

Differences between the two versions in terms of content, idiomaticity or visual impact demonstrate which version is primary, and elements of interference, code-switching and borrowing may be useful in analysing the cultural contacts and linguistic ability of the bilingual. Bi-version texts where the two versions say the same thing and have been rendered idiomatically, rather than word-by-word, do not necessarily have primary versions, but still reveal information as to the linguistic ability of the bilingual. We should also remember that a bi-version text with versions of identical content does not necessarily indicate a lack of bilingual individuals within a bilingual community. The basic communicative message could have been conveyed with just one of the languages, but may have been repeated for reasons

⁶² Myers-Scotton 2006 158. ⁶³ See Adams 2003a 366.

⁶⁴ Even in situations of relatively even ethnolinguistic vitality, such as Brussels in the 1990s, polarization may mean bi-version texts are virtually non-existent. As Backhaus remarks, based on Wenzel's work: 'It is no over-interpretation to consider the strict division of the two languages in their written form as an expression of the continuing conflict between the two language groups in Brussels' (2007 16).

⁶⁵ When a message is required in both languages, often polarization will be marked by visual means, which can sometimes entail the representation of the two versions on different material. Reh has termed this 'covert multilingualism', as opposed to 'visible multilingualism' which involves versions on the same material unit and which can be read without changing position (2004 5).

beyond the purely practical. For example, Welsh appears alongside English in official signage in many communities in Wales where there are no Welsh speakers who do not also read English. The variation of the semantic content of the two versions also offers information about the identity of the author and/or referent and the community in which the inscription is displayed, as we shall see in §9.3.1. Bi-version bilingual texts which have different information in the two versions require readers to have competence in both languages in order to appreciate the full meaning.⁶⁶ By excluding information in one version the author may be deliberately attempting to exclude non-bilinguals in the society. Similarly, the ordering, the size of lettering, the depth of incision, the colour, and the overall visibility of the versions in bi-version bilingual texts are potentially significant for building up a view of cultural interactions in the epigraphic community.

3.3.2 Texts displaying bilingual phenomena

An analysis of the nature and frequency of all three bilingual features (code-switching, borrowing and interference) should lead to a sophisticated understanding of *texts displaying bilingual phenomena*. Several circumstances might underlie the creation of such texts: the unintended results of language contact in situations of shift or maintenance involving perfect or imperfect learning, or deliberate strategies to express duality of identity or prestige.

Our discussion begins with an analysis of code-switching, starting with the views of bilingual speech analysis and then their application to the ancient evidence. We will be focusing on bilingual code-switching, rather than restricted code-switching, though admittedly the two are not necessarily easily distinguishable in textual evidence.⁶⁷

Modern linguistic research incorporating both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors has produced theories regarding the linguistic ability related to various types of code-switching. Researchers suggest that intersentential code-switching is used mostly by dominant bilinguals, whereas balanced bilinguals employ significantly more intra-sentential switching.⁶⁸ Hamers and Blanc refer to the latter as ‘a maturational social process’ which children learn later ‘since it requires full development of syntactic rules for both languages’.⁶⁹ Auer notes that ‘whenever intrasentential code-switching occurs, intersentential switching is a matter of course, but

⁶⁶ See Adams 2003a 649.

⁶⁷ See Adams 2003a 305–308 for some examples.

⁶⁸ See Poplack 1980 581.

⁶⁹ Hamers and Blanc 2000 267.

not all code-switching situations/communities which allow intersentential switching also allow intrasentential switching.⁷⁰ It is generally thought that tag-switching is the form of code-switching which requires the least competence; some researchers do not even consider the phenomenon to be a real instance of code-switching, and it is certainly true that, at least in some cases, the tag can be an ‘emblematic part of the speaker’s monolingual style’.⁷¹

Levels and types of code-switching can also be related to speakers’ and interlocutors’ attitudes, their age, their gender, the role of linguistic varieties in the community, the origins of the community, the attitude of the community to code-switching, to name just a few factors.⁷² Often several elements will be involved in a switch and contextualization is vital to determine these.⁷³ Generally, intra-sentential is regarded as the most intimate form of code-switching, and tag-switching the least. For instance, in the case of balanced bilinguals who can choose between the two types, an ‘in-group’ interlocutor encourages the former and a ‘non-group’ interlocutor the latter.⁷⁴ Poplack argues that intra-sentential switching should be seen as a ‘discourse mode’, and that what is significant for sociolinguistics is not the exact position of the switch points, which can be relatively random, but rather the fact that the speakers have chosen this discourse mode.⁷⁵ Indeed, in some communities, intra-sentential switching is so natural that it can be deemed an unmarked choice.⁷⁶

Using the findings of modern sociolinguistics, Adams discusses at length the possible motivating factors for code-switching in the classical world and selects the following as most common, all of which are linked and may be found in combination.⁷⁷ We shall revisit these factors in Chapter 9.

⁷⁰ Auer 1998c 3. Muysken 2000 8–9 selects some factors that determine types of intra-sentential code-switching.

⁷¹ Poplack 1980 589. Poplack 1980 categorizes frequent intra-sentential code-switching as ‘intimate’ and tag-switching, interjections, idiomatic expressions and single-word switches as ‘emblematic’.

⁷² See Gardner-Chloros 2009a, especially 42–64.

⁷³ Although the macro-sociolinguistic context can often be illuminating, a proportion of code-switching is independent of this context. Auer 1998a is a timely reminder that internal analysis of code-switching, i.e. *conversation analysis* (Auer 1984), should not be overlooked.

⁷⁴ See Poplack 1980 589–590. Her code-switching subjects are Puerto-Rican residents of the stable Spanish–English bilingual community of El Barrio (New York City). Her analysis of the factors underlying different varieties or absence of code-switching is somewhat general due to the small number of informants.

⁷⁵ Poplack 1980 614.

⁷⁶ Myers-Scotton 2006 167. Code-switching may also be ‘unconscious’. Code-switchers may not be aware that they have switched, and may not be able to report when and why they switched languages (Wardhaugh 1998 103).

⁷⁷ See Adams 2003a 297–308. Adams discusses code-switching in Cicero’s letters in detail at 308–347. Additional motivations to the categories set out above include: intimacy, common educational background, criticism, cultured game, distancing, euphemism (e.g. medical,

- (1) *Expression of identity, perception of self and belonging*: doctors, for example, often use (Ionic) Greek in referring to their profession,⁷⁸ soldiers referring to the military often use Latin.⁷⁹
- (2) *Interpersonal, interactional code-switching*: triggered by the perceived taste or character of the addressee. This can involve feelings of solidarity (convergence) or dominance/alooofness (divergence).⁸⁰
- (3) *Culturally specific code-switching*: triggered by topics, events, activities or material.
- (4) *Stylistically evocative code-switching*: used as a stylistic resource to evoke another world.⁸¹

Adams's discussion is focused especially on Cicero's code-switching. Whereas Ciceronian texts provide ample instances of code-switching and the contextualizing evidence allows an analysis of the switches in line with modern linguistic theory, inscriptional evidence is much more difficult to interpret. Nevertheless, some general guidelines can be suggested. Code-switching in epitaphs from the Roman Empire, for example, might contain a switch from Latin into Greek to include a formula associated with high literary culture, or a switch in the opposite direction to include the public language of the state. A switch may also simply reveal the perceived need to express the bilingual nature of a community or individual, and, if the text were positioned in such a way as to exclude readership (e.g. folded curse tablets thrown into wells, or inscriptions in high positions on temples), the bilingualism might have been thought necessary to ensure the potency of the inscription.⁸² More complex forms of code-switching (inter- and intra-sentential) suggest more than just a brief acknowledgement of a second language and culture; they are more indicative of a duality of identity. Tag-switching, however, may be evidence for imperfect competence in language B, or indicative that the language is moribund or even dead (e.g. in the case of Hebrew tags such as *shalom* in Jewish epitaphs in Latin or Greek).⁸³

endearments), humour, showing off, using the *mot juste*, though all of these could be fitted into the categories.

⁷⁸ See §8.3.1. ⁷⁹ For Latin and the army, see Adams 2003a *passim*.

⁸⁰ Accommodation theory considers this in detail, see Adams 2003a 350–356, Joseph 2004 70–73. 'Speech/Communication Accommodation Theory' was developed by Giles and co-workers, see Hamers and Blanc 2000 242–251, Winford 2003 119–124 for details. Myers-Scotton has set out an influential account of code-switching as dependent on sets of 'rights and obligations' known as the 'Markedness Model', see Adams 2003a 410–413, Myers-Scotton 2006 158–161. Sebba has produced a 'congruence approach', see Hamers and Blanc 2000 268–269.

⁸¹ See, for instance, Sedley 1999 on Lucretius use of Greek to evoke the 'exotic'.

⁸² Adams 2003a 23.

⁸³ For Hebrew tags, see Adams 2003a 22–23, 271–272, Leiwo 2002 184. For the linguistic complexities of the Jewish communities of the Western Empire, see Noy 1999, Rochette 2008.

Table 4 *The nature of borrowing under different conditions of language contact (excluding imperfect learning)*

Level of contact	Changes to lexicon	Changes to structure
Casual (passive familiarity, few bilinguals)	Content words, non-basic before basic	None
Slightly more intense (bilinguals still a minority)	Function words, content words, still non-basic	Minor, nothing that causes disruption: new phonemes in loan-words, syntactical features such as new functions or functional restrictions for already existing structures, increased use of new word orders
More intense (more bilinguals, attitudes and other factors favourable to change)	Non-basic and basic (including pronouns and low numerals), derivational affixes	More significant than above, though no major typological disruption: new phonological features, loss of features, new syllable structure constraints, syntactical changes such as word order change, inflectional affixes and categories adopted
Intense (extensive bilingualism and other factors strongly favouring change)	Any items	Major changes that cause significant disruption; anything can be borrowed ^a

^a Thomason and Kaufman 1988 have five levels of contact, which Thomason has since reduced to four. See Thomason and Kaufman 1988 65–109, Thomason 2001 69–74 for more details of the scale.

In the same way that every instance of code-switching must be interpreted individually within its context, so must each example of borrowing and interference. As an intermittent and unintentional transferral of linguistic features, interference may provide information about the linguistic ability of the author, though little about attitudes towards language use and the community. The distribution and type of borrowing, however, has the potential to reveal more about cultural and linguistic contacts. For example, the phenomenon of calquing in the ancient world has, so far, been overlooked. The identification of calques may expose the transmission of practices, objects or patterns of thought between communities, but also the desire to represent these in native form. Table 4 shows the types of borrowing likely in different language contact situations, excluding imperfect learning,⁸⁴ as developed

⁸⁴ Adapted from Thomason and Kaufman 1988 74–75, Thomason 2001 70–71.

in publications by Thomason and Kaufman.⁸⁵ It simply serves as a rough guide to ‘probabilities’, as linguistic change can often be unpredictable;⁸⁶ ‘in this domain everything appears to be possible, although some things are improbable’.⁸⁷ In terms of linguistic factors determining borrowing, markedness has an impact on contact-induced change: marked features are less likely to be learnt by the shifting group. Deeply embedded language structures (especially inflectional morphology) are generally slow to be borrowed and learnt. Typological similarity facilitates contact-induced change, since it is much simpler to incorporate even deeply embedded features into typologically congruent structures, and thus closely related languages often do not follow closely the scale of non-linguistic factors determining borrowing set out in Table 4.⁸⁸

As we shall see, it is not easy to exploit the information in this table when dealing with the fragmentary linguistic remains of the past. The use (or attempted use) of standard forms in writing means that features of linguistic contact do not always find their way into textual evidence. Furthermore, when we are treating a language such as Gaulish, of which our knowledge is relatively poor, we barely understand, for example, the constraints of syllable structure or word order to start with, and therefore cannot be sure when contact-induced change has taken place. We scour the Gaulish inscriptions for any evidence of contact-induced change with Greek in Chapter 6, and fail to find convincing evidence. Contact with the Mediterranean *koiné*, however, does seem to have resulted in the borrowing of a key dedicatory formula into Gaulish (Chapter 7).

3.3.3 Transliterated texts

These texts are likely to have been ‘composed’ by someone who was bilingual, as literacy in one language generally supposes some spoken knowledge.⁸⁹ Adams is right to stress that texts in language A transliterated into the script of language B are not evidence for imperfect bilingualism or learning of language A on the part of the author.⁹⁰ The act of transliteration itself is either evidence for imperfect literacy, i.e. the author may be competent

⁸⁵ Thomason 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2000, 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, Thomason and Kaufman 1988.

⁸⁶ See Thomason 2001 77–85. See Thomason 1997c 202–203, 2001 149–152, 2003b 703–704 for the overlooked phenomenon of ‘change by deliberate decision’.

⁸⁷ Thomason 2003a 695. ⁸⁸ See Thomason 2001 71.

⁸⁹ This is not always the case, for instance, long after Hebrew or Libyan were no longer spoken, names and other formulae were transliterated into the scripts of those languages.

⁹⁰ Adams 2003a 40–41. For the opposite view, see Kramer 1984.

or even fluent in both languages, but has only become literate in one,⁹¹ or it is a deliberate ploy by the author, who may be perfectly literate in both languages, to express dual identity. Sometimes specific motivations can be uncovered.⁹² *Defixiones* are often deliberately coded, as part of an attempt to obfuscate and to lend extra force to the power of the curse.⁹³ Graphemic/orthographic interference from the script of language A (e.g. spelling conventions that are known only through relatively detailed knowledge of the script) can alert the scholar to a conscious decision on the part of a biliterate author to transliterate into the script of language B. Equally, distinctive orthographical mistakes made in the creation of certain transliterated texts, such as ταβελλαρουν for *tabellarum* (showing Greek -v for Latin -m) in a second-century slave-trader's receipt (CPL 193), hint that the author may not purposefully have chosen that script, but may have had no choice due to illiteracy in the language of the text.⁹⁴

In some cases only part of the inscription may be transliterated, as in IGF 75. This third-century AD, two-part mould discovered at Fréjus⁹⁵ contains two Greek words, one on each side, one transliterated into Roman characters: πύκτας / *pali*. The two halves do appear to be part of the same object, and the writing is possibly in the same hand. *Pali* is thought to be a transliteration of πάλη 'wrestling, fight', with iotacism. πύκτας is accompanied by a boxing scene, *pali* with one of wrestling. The motivation for transliteration here is unclear, though the use of Greek is associated with the agonistic domain (§9.3.1).

Finally, we find instances of entire inscriptions, for example from Marseille and Nîmes, which are Latin in terms of content and structure but written in Greek script and language (§9.3.2). These texts perhaps involve some notion of transliteration, but the matter is complicated. Texts such as these are extremely difficult to fit neatly into the schema described above (Table 3), demonstrating the complexity of representations of multiple identities.

⁹¹ Adams 2003a 53–63. An example of this may be found on a third-century AD tombstone from Lyon (IGF 151): above the Latin text a Greek phrase is transliterated 'CHERE HYGENE', perhaps carved by someone trained in Latin script, but not in Greek. See Decourt 1993 for the formula χαῖρε καὶ ὑγίανε. There is evidence that literacy in Greek or Latin did not automatically mean literacy in the other, see Adams 2003a 41–42.

⁹² Adams 2003a 43–53. See Feissel 2008 for the use of Greek transliterated into Latin script in very specific circumstances in the sixth-century Proto-Byzantine East.

⁹³ See Blom 2012b for *voces magicae*. The Norfolk Roman bilingual charm illustrates the transliteration phenomenon as well as several other tropes of magical texts, for details of the text, see Tomlin 2004.

⁹⁴ For further details, see Adams 2003a 53–63. ⁹⁵ See Janon 1978.

Table 5 *Bilingual texts and community dynamics*

Type of community	One language			Two (or more) languages	
	Closed	Open, high ethnolinguistic vitality	Open, low ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality
Type of bilingual texts	No bi-version. No texts displaying bilingual phenomena.	No bi-version. Few texts displaying bilingual phenomena, perhaps including lexical borrowing.	No bi-version. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving lexical borrowing, tag-switching.	Bi-version common (though not in polarized contexts, see p. 86). Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Bi-directional influence.	Fewer bi-versions. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Linguistic features of the higher-vitality group are mostly found in texts of the lower.

3.4 A model of bilingual texts and community dynamics

The various strands of contemporary bilingualism theory discussed here have been drawn together to create a new model for bilingual texts and community dynamics (Table 5).

The model suggests the types of bilingual texts that are most likely to be attested in certain linguistic communities. These communities are defined by the presence of one or more than one language (in the case of those with more than one language we should assume that there will be a mixture of monolinguals and bilinguals), whether they have few external links with other speech communities (closed) or many (open),⁹⁶ and whether

⁹⁶ For the terminology, see Ross 2003. Speech communities are defined by Grace 1996 172 as consisting 'of those people who communicate with one another or are connected to one another by chains of speakers who communicate with one another'. For the difficulties of defining 'speech communities', see Wardhaugh 1998 116–121.

they have high or low ethnolinguistic vitality in comparison with the contact communities. So, for example, in a monolingual community with few external links to other speech communities, no bilingual texts are found. In a bilingual community with speech groups of even ethnolinguistic vitality, bi-version bilingual texts are common, as are texts displaying bilingual phenomena, with the influence between the languages bidirectional. This model will be reconsidered in the final chapter in the light of the findings for Southern Gaul (Chapters 6–9). It is hoped that more detailed models will be produced in the future through the comparison of results from other areas of the ancient world.

4.1 Investigatory framework

As we have seen, the use of models of language contact and community dynamics can help to illuminate the nature of linguistic and cultural contacts in the ancient world. Similarly, we have shown how bilingual texts can also supply evidence not only for understanding levels and modalities of bilingualism but also expressions of multiple identities. There are two further sets of evidence which may allow us to advance in the quest to understand multilingualism and multiple identities: scripts and onomastics, which will form the basis of discussion in the next two chapters. Both of these sets of evidence are exceptionally useful for the study of Southern Gaul, since the Gaulish material is often restricted to naming evidence or sometimes simply to one or two letters. It is therefore extremely important to understand how script use and onomastic evidence can be analysed and the problems inherent in their investigation.

Scripts have been the focus of a great deal of attention over many decades, with interest concentrated particularly on the origins of writing,¹ the exploration of literacy and orality in the ancient world,² and the consequences of literacy for the development of societies.³ Levels of literacy in the ancient world have also received attention in specialist studies restricted by spatio-temporal limits, with the exception of the ambitious treatment by Harris (1989).⁴ Most recently, the study of the connections between power,

¹ See, for instance, Amadasi Guzzo 1991, De Hoz 1991, Gelb 1963, Harbsmeier 1988, Harris 1986, Havelock 1976, Hooker 1990, Houston 2004a, 2004b, Isserlin 1991, Millard 1991, Powell 1991a, 1991b, Ribichini 1991, Senner 1989, Thomas 1992.

² See, for instance, Finnegan 1988, Goody 1987, Havelock 1986, Johnson and Parker 2009, Labarbe 1991, Olson and Torrance 1991, Tannen 1982, Thomas 1989, 1992.

³ See, for instance, Bloch 1989, Goody 1968, 1977, 1986, 1987, 2000, Goody and Watt 1963, Halverson 1992, Havelock 1982, Larsen 1988, Olson 1994.

⁴ Definitions of literacy are problematic. The UNESCO definition of an illiterate is someone ‘who cannot with understanding both read and write a short simple statement on his everyday life’ (UNESCO 1977 12). However, UNESCO acknowledges that levels of literacy are dynamic, ranging from the ability to write one’s name (signature literacy) and to read but not write, to functional literacy. The Greeks also made a distinction between ἀγράμματοι and ὀλιγογράμματοι (Justinian *Nov.* 73.8) / βραδέως γράφοντες (papyri) (see Youtie 1971,

identity and literacy, following social theories,⁵ has become fashionable.⁶ This chapter has been inspired largely by this most recent sphere of interest.

Analysis of the adoption, development, varieties and use of scripts offers one way to investigate cultural evolution, the nature of the recipient and donor societies, and ‘negotiation of identity’.⁷ The emphasis on power, identity and literacy might be applied to Southern Gaul, particularly to uncover relations that might have provided the context for writing.⁸ Bats remarks that ‘l’adoption de l’écriture est en quelque sorte un phénomène colonial dans la mesure où elle résulte d’un emprunt externe, mais la situation est loin d’être uniforme. Plusieurs modèles étaient possibles: les choix ne furent pas dus au hasard mais leurs raisons n’apparaissent pas toujours évidentes.’⁹

The mechanisms behind the diffusion of non-indigenous scripts to indigenous communities have elicited little attention.¹⁰ The following questions create a framework for investigating any adoption of literacy:

- (1) What is the nature of contact required to adopt literacy and to facilitate its spread?
- (2) Is the exact form of the script created more indicative of assimilation or adaptation, and what does this reveal about education, scribal practices and deliberate choices?
- (3) Is there a time lag between contact with literacy and adoption, and what can this tell us?
- (4) Which genres of texts are copied or rejected and are new uses for literacy developed?¹¹
- (5) Who is writing (status and numbers), to what standard, and where, in both the indigenous and donor societies and who forms the audience?

1975b). It is important to clarify the level to which the term ‘literacy’ refers and the language, see Youtie 1975a. For discussions of literacy in the ancient world, see Baurain, Bonnet and Krings 1991, Bowman and Woolf 1994, Cooley 2002, Dubuisson 1991, Harris 1989, Humphrey 1991, Woolf 2000.

⁵ See, for instance, Bourdieu 1991.

⁶ See, for instance, Baines 1988, Bowman and Woolf 1994, Collins and Blot 2003, Collombier 1991 (see also Palaima 1991), Dubuisson 1991, Forsyth 1998, Harbsmeier 1988, Joseph 1987, Larsen 1988, Lomas, Whitehouse and Wilkins 2007, Sherratt 2003, Street 1984, 1993, 2001, Youtie 1975b.

⁷ See, for instance, Trigger 2004 66. ⁸ See Woolf 1994b.

⁹ Bats 1988a 124. See Lejeune 1983 for an overview of the adoptions of Greek script to write various languages in the first millennium BC.

¹⁰ Though see Brixhe 1991 for a phonological analysis of the transfer of Phoenician script to Greek. Bats is the most sophisticated commentator on script use in Southern Gaul.

¹¹ See Stoddart and Whitley 1988 for different uses of early literacy in Greece and Etruria.

Beyond this proposed investigative framework, three further methodological points specific to scripts are pertinent. The association of a text with the script used inevitably occurs and a concomitant link may be with the culture associated with that script. While this may be important, we should not be simplistic about the connections. In literature concerning Gallo-Greek, the influence of Greek culture, with Marseille as the epicentre, reoccurs.¹² However, we should not view Gallo-Greek only in terms of its interaction with the colonial Greeks. We must also interrogate the possible complexity of influences and cultural contacts which underlie the creation and diffusion of Gallo-Greek, and be aware of potential multiple causation: the influence of the entire Mediterranean *koine*, and Italian influences in particular.¹³

Secondly, each act of expression in Gallo-Greek should be interpreted on its own terms, though within the macro context. Each act of writing does not *necessarily* interact with the circumstances of the initial adoption. When writing in Latin script, Romans did not necessarily consider the process of script adoption which started with the Phoenician consonantary, was transformed into an alphabet by the Greeks, and was adopted by the Etruscans through contact with the Euboeans before it was used to represent Latin.¹⁴ Even relatively soon after the initial creation of Gallo-Greek, it may no longer have been associated with the Greeks in certain areas but may have assumed a ‘new identity’.

Finally, it is essential to distinguish script and language. When the language can be assigned to Gaulish and the script is that of Gallo-Greek, references to ‘l’usage du grec’, ‘une inscription grecque’, ‘épitaphes en grec’ are inappropriate.¹⁵ Morphological features are generally cited as the most secure way of assigning linguistic affiliation to texts, but, unfortunately, the linguistic similarity of all the three main languages under discussion in this study (Greek, Gaulish and Latin) and our relatively poor knowledge of Gaulish often hamper categorization of such features. In addition, many inscriptions are fragmentary or contain abbreviations and do not include morphological features. Our knowledge of diagnostic features of Gaulish at the phonological, particularly segmental, level remains relatively poor and

¹² The main discussions of Gallo-Greek are Bats 1988a, 2000, 2003a, 2004, Häussler 2002, 2007a, Lambert 1992, 1997, Lejeune 1983, Mullen 2008a, 2011b, *RIG I* pages 1–5, Woolf 1994b.

¹³ Häussler is the only other scholar to propose this view: ‘by considering Gallo-Greek the result of a progressive, profound and successful Hellenization, he [Lambert] ignores the important role of Rome in the process, especially the contacts between the Italian peninsula and the *Provincia*’ (2002 63 note 17, and, in German, 2007a 708 note 10).

¹⁴ For this adoption process, see Lejeune 1983 735–736.

¹⁵ These phrases can be found in Provost 2007.

it is often impossible to assign the language of such inscriptions securely (§§6.2.2, 6.3.2).

4.2 Gallo-Greek

4.2.1 The circumstances of the initial adoption

Gallo-Greek, Gaulish written in Greek script, is largely attested from the second century until the Augustan period, with one or two possibly later examples (see §4.2.2). The majority of Gallo-Greek is found in the lower Rhône basin, though some examples occur to the north in Central-eastern Gaul. The main characteristic of the creation of Gallo-Greek is that the phonological system of the donor language, Greek, has been understood and adapted only where necessary to suit the related adoptive language (Gaulish), as is also the case with Gallo-Latin in its adoption of the Latin alphabet. In these circumstances, bilingualism is considered a prerequisite,¹⁶ and certainly, the initial adoption must have been undertaken by one (or more) bilingual(s). However, the evidence does not support Lambert's extrapolation to a 'milieu bilingue, qui doit certainement appartenir à l'élite indigène'.¹⁷ There is no indication that bilingualism was limited to the elite.

Lambert considers the precise context in which the initial adoption might have occurred.¹⁸ Indigenous intermediaries who learnt to speak and write Greek are envisaged as the most likely source, probably those involved in commercial and fiscal transactions. Lambert argues that Greeks had probably already started noting Gaulish names in Greek script and, on the basis of this initial development,¹⁹ the Gaulish-speaking intermediaries appreciated the utility of writing, but also the associated prestige, and therefore adopted it to create lapidary inscriptions. Bats propounds a different view: faced with a period of decline and the increased autonomy of the indigenous traders, the Massaliotes begin to forge new ties of *xenia* and *philia* with the indigenous elites in certain areas, and, perhaps at the behest of these elites, the Massaliotes themselves adapt their alphabet to the Gaulish language.²⁰ 'Élites', 'aristocratie' and 'druides' have all been proposed as possible elements of society concerned with the creation of Gallo-Greek, and it has even been suggested that these elements were missing in Ligurian

¹⁶ Bats 2000 74, Lambert 1992 290, 1997 36, Lejeune 1983 739–740.

¹⁷ Lambert 1992 290, 1997 36. ¹⁸ Lambert 1992 290–291, 1997 36–37.

¹⁹ Lambert notes that Celtic names also appear in Greek histories and geographies (1992 290, 1997 37).

²⁰ Bats 1988a 143.

society and that it therefore remained anepigraphic.²¹ Our knowledge of the social structures of the indigenous communities is too poor to support such hypotheses.²²

Scholars consider that the point of departure for the adoption of the Greek script by the indigenous community was ‘sans aucun doute à Marseille’.²³ No direct evidence exists to refute this claim, but it is worth emphasizing that, despite the impression to the contrary, neither is there any strong supporting evidence. The script adopted to write Gaulish is the form of the standardized Ionic alphabet used throughout the Greek-speaking world during the Hellenistic period to write the Koine.²⁴ No diagnostic feature specifically links the script to Marseille. Furthermore, though Lejeune argues that colonization is often a prerequisite for adopting scripts, there are significant counter-examples, and he recognizes that commercial contacts may sometimes be sufficient for the adoption of literacy (e.g. in the case of Iberian).²⁵ This might encourage us to entertain the possibility that the creation of the script may have occurred via trading contacts with the entire Mediterranean basin. There is certainly some evidence that, until the dominance of Latin, Greek was used as a trading *lingua franca* (see *IGF* 135, §6.4.1) in the Mediterranean. Italians, for example, would have been familiar with Greek through intermarriage, military service and trade, and sites such as Delos demonstrate the conversance of Italian groups with both Latin and Greek.²⁶ Indeed, Wallace-Hadrill notes that in conquest the Romans conceded ‘superiority to Greek as a common tongue on a Mediterranean-wide level’.²⁷

In support of the importance of Mediterranean-wide influences motivating the creation of Gallo-Greek, we might consider Lejeune’s map of the distribution of Gallo-Greek in *RIG* I (page 16). I have reproduced this map, with the addition of sites that have produced Gallo-Greek inscriptions since the publication of his tome (Map 3). An incomplete circle marks the area to which Lejeune refers as containing the ‘grande densité de sites gallo-grecs’. His map is misleading in two respects, firstly because the sites

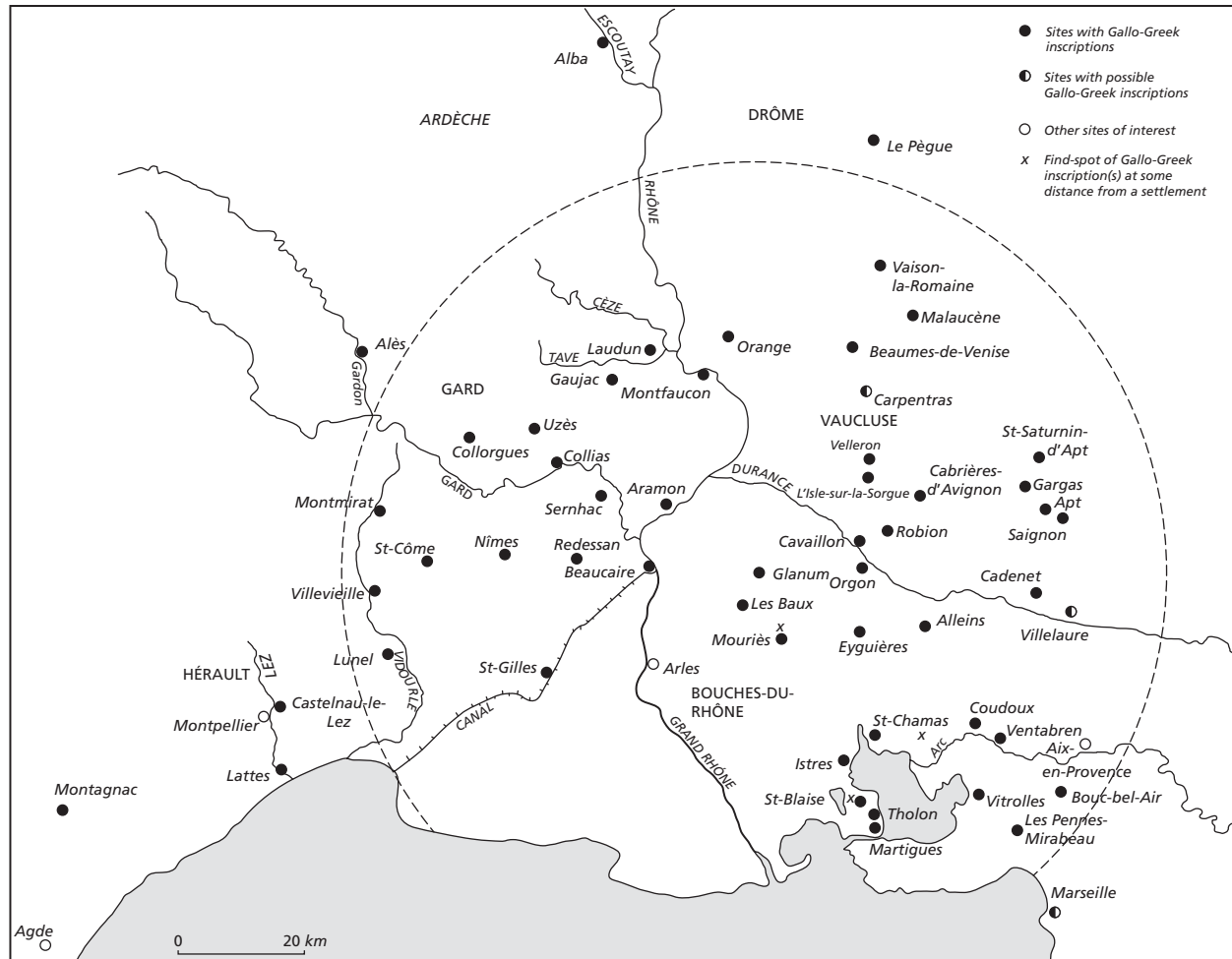
²¹ See the discussion in *EM* 3 468–469. ²² See Lambert 1997 37 note 6.

²³ Bats 2003a 372. This is repeated throughout the literature, see, for instance, Lambert 1992 290–291, 1997 36.

²⁴ Threaght states that the Ionic alphabet replaced the epichoric scripts in most cities c. 450–350 (1996b 273).

²⁵ See Lejeune 1983 739. Gras (1995a 108–113) discusses the importance of ‘contacts commerciaux’ in the spread of writing in the Mediterranean, see also Poccetti 2010a. The ancient scripts of the Iberian peninsula have elicited a large amount of scholarship, see, for instance, Correa 1996, De Hoz 1991, 1996, Jordán Cólera 2007, Rodríguez Ramos 2004 39–202, Untermann 1997, Velaza Frías 1996.

²⁶ For Delos, see Adams 2003a 642–686, Hasenohr 2007, 2008. ²⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 84.



should not themselves be termed ‘Gallo-Greek’ (they contain Gallo-Greek epigraphy, but are not necessarily ‘Gallo-Greek’ in population or material terms) and secondly because the anepigraphic sites in the region have not been indicated (the map could easily give the impression that all indigenous sites produce Gallo-Greek). The circle nevertheless demonstrates that the epicentre of the epigraphic phenomenon is the confluence of several key rivers, with the Rhône running from north to south through the centre. Massalia lies to the south-east of the circle. The exclusion of Massalia has been noted by commentators,²⁸ but its significance for an understanding of the cultural contacts of the region has been neglected. Even though the distribution does not refute the claim that the script may have been adopted at Marseille, as the Massaliotes clearly plied the Rhône themselves and controlled trade to a certain extent, it at least suggests that the focus on trade and more complex origins may not be misplaced.²⁹

The exact form of the script used to write Gaulish may be significant in analysing the background to the creation of Gallo-Greek. We have already noted that it reflects a high degree of similarity with the Greek system. This feature unfortunately offers little evidence for identity and cultural contacts, as in some respects it might be viewed as the ‘default position’. Were the system to have shown clear understanding of the donor language, but deliberate adaptation or subversion, more might have been concluded.³⁰ Indeed, Trigger notes that ‘scripts may be altered considerably in outward form to turn them into expressions of local identity’.³¹ In the case of Gallo-Greek, an analysis of the exact form of letters and the adaptations made may allow an assessment of the level of education behind the creation and the genre of writing taken as the model.

The application of Greek script for the representation of Gaulish is not simple; it requires some degree of phonological analysis, both of the donor and recipient languages.³² In general terms, the graphemes used in Greek

²⁸ Lejeune 1983 745.

²⁹ The argument that the area to the east and north of Marseille remained anepigraphic because it was populated by Ligurians is weak, see §1.5.2, Lejeune 1983 745.

³⁰ Ogam (used to write Insular Celtic between the late fourth and the seventh century AD) is an example of a script (probably) inspired by Latin but the result is visually quite different. This may have been a deliberate expression of identity, or simply that the script was adapted to suit the material. For Ogam, see Forsyth 1998 (‘Pictish Ogam’), Garrett 1999, Harvey 1987, 1989, Lehmann 1989, McManus 1991, Russell 2005, Sims-Williams 1992, 1993, 2003, Stevenson 1989, Trigger 2004 58. See Spolsky 2004 27–31 for the creation of new scripts.

³¹ Trigger 2004 66–67.

³² See Miller 1994 for the linguistic awareness required to produce scripts. See Joseph 1987 34–35 for the argument that the alphabet engenders an awareness of discrete units of the language and ‘only then can it [the language] be consciously manipulated in a systematic way’ (35).

are employed to represent similar phonemes in Gaulish.³³ In some cases graphemes are redundant and therefore not adopted into Gallo-Greek (e.g. Z, Φ,³⁴ Ψ). In other cases, realignments are made to suit the needs of the Gaulish phonological system. For instance, it appears that the Gaulish vocalic system showed no distinctive opposition of length and therefore short and long /e/ and /o/ are not systematically represented graphically. In fact, omega appears just ten times in *RIG I*, and only three times in Southern Gaul. The use of eta is marginally more common and more evenly spread, but its use to notate vowels known to be short encouraged Lejeune to describe it as a ‘coquetterie de style graphique’.³⁵ Gallo-Greek, however, appears to mark a difference between qualities. Lejeune considers that Gaulish had two qualities of *i* – close *i* (deriving from original *-ī* and possibly *-i*) and open *i* (from original *-ē* and possibly *-i*), both are represented by *ι*, but open *i* shows a preference for the notation *Ει*. Similarly, two qualities of *u* can be identified: close *u*, derived from an original *-ū* and *-u*, is represented by the digraph *ΟΥ*, whereas open *u*, from an original *-ō*, is represented with *Ο/ω/ΟΥ*. The semi-vowel /w/ generally receives the notation *ΟΥ*.³⁶ In terms of the consonantal inventory, we sometimes find Greek X used for /x/ in the consonantal group /xt/ < /kt/ (e.g. *ANEXTAO* (*RIG I* G-268)).³⁷ ΝΓ is occasionally used in Gallo-Greek (e.g. *KONΓENNOMAPOC* (Lejeune 1994 G-526)) to replace ΓΓ in Greek for the velar nasal plus /g/, though ΓΓ is also found in Gallo-Greek (e.g. *ECKEΓΓO* (*RIG I* G-13, 146, 154)),³⁸ as is ΝΓ in Greek. It should be noted that the use of ΓΓ shows an understanding of Greek orthographic practices beyond simply learning the alphabet.

The main adaptation required for Gallo-Greek was the representation of a phoneme in Gaulish, absent from Greek, whose exact phonological content has elicited much debate, mostly concerning its phonetic value in the Roman period, when it is referred to as *tau gallicum* (Vergil *Cat.* 2).³⁹ This sound is represented in Gallo-Greek by Θ(Θ), but also by Τ(Τ), C(C) and CΘ,⁴⁰ and probably had no direct equivalent in Greek or Latin. Since a

³³ For the information in this section, see also Lambert 1992 291–292, 1997 39–40, Lejeune 1983 746–747.

³⁴ With the possible exception of *RIG I* G-117, whose reading, interpretation and linguistic affiliation remain uncertain.

³⁵ *RIG I* page 443. For the use of *Ει*, *Η* and *Ω*, see Lejeune 1968–9 36–48, *RIG I* pages 442–443.

³⁶ With the exceptions *RIG I* G-57, 59, 105. For the notation of *-u* in diphthongs, see §6.3.2.

³⁷ Ξ is employed for the combination ΓC (e.g. *ECKIΓΓO* | *PEIΞ* (*RIG I* G-207)).

³⁸ For *Excig-* names, see Untermann 1969b 126–127.

³⁹ [ts], [dz], [θ], [θθ], [tθ], [ð], [tʰ], [θs], [s] have all been suggested, see Adams 2007 287–288, Eska 1998, *GPN* 410–420, Katz 2000 343–346, *KGPN* 101–103, Mees 2002, Watkins 1955 15, Williams 2001b. For the poem, see Adams 2003a 190–191, *GPN* 420, O’Sullivan 1986.

⁴⁰ For a tabulation, see *RIG I* pages 444–445.

range of representations are employed in Gallo-Greek, it is possible that the sound was undergoing a process of change within Gaulish, as perhaps also indicated by the Gallo-Latin and Latin evidence.⁴¹

Both Lejeune and Lambert argue that the process of adoption and adaptation outlined above must have involved the skills of technical training. Lambert suggests ‘un travail de clerc, de lettré,’⁴² following Lejeune’s opinion that ‘la naissance d’une écriture indigène inspirée de l’écriture grecque n’a jamais été un phénomène spontané et populaire, mais l’œuvre voulue et réfléchie d’un petit groupe de “clercs” locaux.’⁴³ Lejeune deems that the technical skills required were learnt through training in Greek schools: ‘la fréquentation d’écoles grecques a contribué à préparer nos clercs.’⁴⁴ Whilst the evidence does not permit a rejection or corroboration of this, we should perhaps seek to form our views directly from the physical remains of the script. The data presented in Table 6 is based on the information in *Appendix I* on the letter forms in *RIG I*.

Lejeune only presents a discussion of lunate and non-lunate letters (epsilon and sigma).⁴⁵ He notes that the complexity cannot be ascribed to the different genres of texts, and attempts to explain the mixture through a chronological development:

I) E, Σ > II) E, C > III) Ε, C

This proposal does not stand up to examination. As Lejeune himself states, we cannot derive reliable dates for the bulk of the inscriptions, and in forming this schema he appears not to have attempted to work even with general dates, simply his knowledge of the development of inscriptional letter forms in Greek epigraphy. We might consider, for instance, the four secure examples of Σ. Of these, none can be dated on archaeological grounds. Of the four, however, two (Nîmes and Saint-Côme) are, based on epigraphy, deemed to be among the latest examples of Gallo-Greek known, possibly first or second century AD (§4.2.3). As demonstrated above, the lunate sigma appears to be the standard form. Similarly, the mixture of cursive and non-cursive epsilon displays no neat chronological pattern, with three instances of both used in the same inscription. The chronology proposed by Lejeune might therefore be inverted, or better, rejected altogether.

⁴¹ The representation of the *tau gallicum* in texts in Latin suggests that a Gaulish pronunciation may have characterized aspects of some regional varieties of Latin in Gaul, see Adams 2007 287–289.

⁴² Lambert 1992 290. ⁴³ Lejeune 1983 740.

⁴⁴ Lejeune 1983 740. ⁴⁵ *RIG I* pages 432–434.

Table 6 *Letter forms in RIG I*

Letter	Number of inscriptions	Variant forms ^a	Number of inscriptions	Remarks
Alpha	138	A 'horizontal cross-bar'	80	
		A 'broken cross-bar'	30	
		Α 'slanted cross-bar'	22	
		'Other'	3	
		Mixture	3	
Epsilon	77	Ε 'lunate'	52	
		E 'non-lunate'	22	
		Mixture	3	
Sigma	83	Σ 'lunate' (C 'angular lunate')	78(3)	<i>RIG I</i> G-53 (Saint-Blaise) contains an early form with four angular branches (third and fourth centuries),^b and may be a Greek inscription. 108 (Vitrolles) 'official' (see §4.2.3); 203 (Nîmes), 214 (Saint-Côme) 'late and professional' (see §4.2.3); 224 (Montagnac) 'decorated capital'. These contexts suggest that the non-lunate was the result of trained stone-cutters (presumably in Greek (and Latin?) epigraphy) commissioned to cut a Gaulish inscription and that the lunate is the standard form and probably that of the initial creation.^c
		Σ 'non-lunate'	5	
Omega	10	ω 'cursive'	10	One instance since <i>RIG I</i>, see §4.2.2.^d This has been classified as possibly the earliest known example of Gallo-Greek, though the form and early date have encouraged scholars to question whether the graffito is in fact Greek.
		Ω 'non-cursive'	0	

^a The terminology for variant forms is not straightforward and there is even confusion over general terms such as cursive, capitals and uncial, see Turner 1987 1. I use the most descriptive terminology available.

^b For the sigma, see Cook 1987 14.

^c In the numismatic evidence from Southern Gaul (*RIG IV*) the lunate sigma outnumbers the non-lunate by sixteen to five (plus one example with both forms), which is somewhat surprising considering the Greek models (non-lunate). By the time of the production of the coins in the first century, it may have been accepted that the lunate form was 'Gallo-Greek', see *RIG IV* page 316: 'la forme du *sigma* et de l'*omega* prend celle du *sigma* lunaire et de l'*omega* cursif quand le style s'éloigne de la facture initiale suggérant une exécution barbare'.

^d Another example occurs on the zinc plaque from Bern (*RIG II.2* L-106), though doubt has been cast on its authenticity (*RIG II.2* pages 301, 303).

Analysis of the letter forms of the inscriptions in *RIG I* provides information about the possible Greek model(s) used in the creation of Gallo-Greek.⁴⁶ The forms suggest that the initial borrowing may have been from a handwritten, as opposed to incised lapidary, form of Greek script. In Greek the lunate sigma, apparently the normal form in Gallo-Greek, is standard in handwritten documents by the third century, whereas its use in inscriptions is not common until the first century AD.⁴⁷ Similarly, the cursive omega, usual in Gallo-Greek, is standard in Greek handwritten documents, and only becomes common in inscriptions during the Roman period. In Greek handwritten documents, both lunate and non-lunate epsilon are employed during the third century, after which the lunate epsilon becomes standard; the lunate form is only common in inscriptions during the Roman period. The random distribution in Gallo-Greek of lunate and non-lunate forms of epsilon, with a preference for the lunate, may reflect the mixed forms in Greek handwriting. Alphas with both horizontal cross-bar and slanted cross-bar are found in Greek handwritten documents. The alpha with broken cross-bar appears in inscriptions from the third century, but is not common in handwriting.⁴⁸ Since all three forms appear in Gallo-Greek, this might be posed as a counter-argument to the suggestion that handwritten documents are the model. However, a survey of around one hundred handwritten Greek documents from Southern Gaul (largely from the Aristaion, for which see §8.3) dating from the third to first centuries demonstrates that they exactly mirror the Gallo-Greek forms. Lunate epsilons are in the majority, though non-lunates also occur and both are occasionally found in the same texts; lunate sigmas are almost exclusively used, with the exception of an unusually elegant inscription from the Aristaion (*MG* 82, *IGF* 68-8); cursive omegas are the norm; and all three variants of the alpha (broken, horizontal and slanted cross-bar) are attested.

This section has shown that Lejeune's proposed chronological development is untenable and has demonstrated, for the first time, that the likely initial model for Gallo-Greek was handwritten Greek.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, this

⁴⁶ For Greek letter forms, see Cook 1987, Jeffery and Johnston 1990, Threatte 1996b, Woodhead 1981. Bats 2004 14–15 presents a brief discussion of alpha and epsilon in Gallo-Greek, concluding only that alpha with broken cross-bar is a stylistic variant which occurs more often in the hinterland and cannot be distinguished chronologically.

⁴⁷ For the transition to lunate forms in Greek inscriptions, see Cook 1987 14, Threatte 1996b 274. For forms in Greek handwritten documents, see David, Van Groningen and Pestman 1990, Kenyon 1899, Roberts 1955, Thompson 1912, Turner 1987, Van Groningen 1955. For the origins of lunate letters, see Gorissen 1978.

⁴⁸ See Cook 1987 14, Woodhead 1981 64.

⁴⁹ This might have important ramifications, for instance, Bresson 1997 tries to redate the Greek inscription *IGF* 5 (§5.4) from the first or second century AD to the first or second century BC

cannot help pin down the exact context for the adoption. Nevertheless, the centrality of a handwritten model may again encourage us to envisage a trading context which provides the contact required (with users of the Greek alphabet from all over the Mediterranean) and the motivation. In a survey of epigraphy in the north-western provinces in the Republic and Principate, Häussler and Pearce state that commercial activities were ‘among the earliest motors of literacy across the Mediterranean’.⁵⁰ Southern Gaul seems to fit this analysis and we shall see in Chapter 6 that trade is an important context in which indigenous communities used Greek.

4.2.2 The significance of the ‘décalage’

In order to analyse the significance of the ‘décalage’ between contacts with literacy and the adoption of the script, we first need to consider the accuracy of the dates for Gallo-Greek. For Southern Gaul, these were traditionally set between the third century and the Augustan period.⁵¹ Bats has carefully reconsidered these assumptions.⁵² He notes that the oldest example of a Gallo-Greek inscription may be OPBΩNOΣ/OPBΩΛIOΣ/OPBΩTIOΣ (the reading is uncertain) (Lejeune 1988 G-502 (Martigues, Île de Martigues)), which can be dated to the second half of the third century on the basis of the material support (archaic Campanian A ware) and stratigraphy.⁵³ He raises doubts, however, as to whether this graffito is Gallo-Greek; the use of a non-cursive omega in Gallo-Greek is otherwise unattested in Southern Gaul (indeed omega at all is very rarely attested, see p. 104) and the graffito might be better analysed as a Gaulish name written in Greek.⁵⁴ Another candidate for the earliest Gallo-Greek, also from Martigues, this time from the *oppidum* Saint-Pierre, might be the series of vases dated to the beginning of the second century and consisting of the name PITYMOC (Lejeune 1995 G-529–548). However, the use of Y where Gallo-Greek would employ OY leads Bats to suggest that we are again dealing with a Gaulish name written in Greek. One of these examples of PITYMOC also displays two further lines of text: BITOYKΛOBIOC AICIANIOC (Lejeune 1995 G-529b), which has a better chance of being Gallo-Greek – the expected OY has

on the basis that the use of the lunate sigma in lapidary epigraphy in Gaul was ‘un phénomène beaucoup plus précoce que dans les vieilles cités du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée’ (494).

The grounds for this argument are flawed as they rely largely on the use of the lunate sigma in the handwritten documents of the Aristaion and Gallo-Greek, which may have been based on a handwritten model: the development of Greek lapidary epigraphy must be treated separately.

⁵⁰ Häussler and Pearce 2007 231. ⁵¹ See, for example, Lambert 2003a 83.

⁵² Bats 1988a 131–132, 2004 8–9. ⁵³ Bats 2011 212.

⁵⁴ See Bats 1988a 125, 2000 77, 2004 17, 2011 214.

been employed and we have a standard Gaulish naming formula. However, Bats also casts doubts even on this example, stating that this could still be in Greek, not Gallo-Greek, based on his analysis of PITYMOC and on *comparanda* from the Greek inscriptions from the sanctuary of Aristaïos (§8.3), where we find a comparable formation of name plus patronymic: [Aδ]ρετιλλος Σολιμαριος (MG 8, IGF 68-28 (revised), Figure 28). As we shall see at §8.3.2, the suffix -ιος can be used for patronymics in both Gaulish and Aeolic Greek, so it is not clear whether we are treating a Gaulish mode of presentation or not, but the overwhelming majority of the inscriptions from the Aristaion are clearly Greek. For Bats, the earliest inscription that can be securely assigned to Gallo-Greek is the graffito from Le Baou-Roux (Lejeune 1994a G-526) which reads AEIOYITAI KONΓENNOMAPOC and is dated to the last quarter of the second century.⁵⁵ In terms of lapidary inscriptions, Bats redates three assigned by Lejeune on palaeographic grounds to the third and second centuries (RIG I G-203, 214, 224) to the end of the first century.⁵⁶ The oldest lapidary inscription in Gallo-Greek according to Bats is therefore probably that of ATIAA (RIG I G-218 (Sernhac)), dated to around 150–125.⁵⁷

The consequence of this careful reanalysis by Bats is that the dates for Gallo-Greek must be pushed later than traditionally thought. Gallo-Greek becomes a phenomenon of the late second and first centuries, though we must remember that the earliest attestations can only give a *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the script. Of course, contextual information is often lacking and Gaulish inscriptions cannot be dated from content as is sometimes possible with Greek and Latin inscriptions (e.g. through dates of consuls). Nevertheless, the bulk of inscribed ceramics can at least be assigned *termini post quem*, and those lapidary inscriptions which have been assigned dates on archaeological grounds fit into the designated second- to first-century span. A *caveat* might be raised, however, by the possible dating of the Nîmes and Saint-Côme inscriptions (RIG I G-203, 214) to as late as the second century AD. We should not fall into the trap of periodization and should remember the circularity of the argument for dating uncontextualized material.

Perhaps four hundred years or more passed between the foundation of Massalia and the creation of Gallo-Greek, which is longer than for many instances of adoption of scripts in the Mediterranean. This gap is highly significant for understanding the process of adoption and allows us to speculate about Gaulish attitudes towards literacy and the nature of the

⁵⁵ Bats 2011 217. ⁵⁶ Bats 2011 217. ⁵⁷ Bats 1988a 131.

contact culture.⁵⁸ The traditional explanation relies on Caesar who claims Druids were actively involved in discouraging literacy:⁵⁹

id mihi duabus de causis instituisse uidentur, quod neque in uulgum disciplinam efferri uelint neque eos qui discunt litteris confisos minus memoriae studere; quod fere plerisque accidit ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. (B.G. 6.14)

I think that they have adopted this practice for two reasons: because they do not want their teaching to be divulged to the common people and because they do not want those who learn it to rely on the written word and to neglect memory, since it generally happens that when most people have the support of writing they pay less attention to learning thoroughly and to their memory.

The validity of Caesar's testimony must be questioned, and in this case he does not cite the authority for his comments, stating explicitly *id mihi duabus de causis instituisse uidentur*.⁶⁰ Moreover, these comments refer to a specific form of material, namely the arcane wisdom of Druids. Whether the desire to restrict this material to the oral tradition would necessarily have meant a restriction against the adoption of literacy more generally is debatable. Indeed, Caesar claims that writing is adopted for public and private accounts (6.14) and the subsequent use of Gallo-Greek for inscriptions to Gaulish deities suggests that this Druidic restriction was relatively narrowly applied, if at all.⁶¹

The time lag might be explicable in other ways, and parallels from the ancient and modern world could be valuable.⁶² Literacy 'is not something that people automatically embrace just because they have become aware of the possibility and have encountered the technology. The conditions also have to be right. In other words, an appropriate cultural context is needed in which writing can be put to some perceptibly useful purpose.'⁶³ In fact, the notion that 'in situations of domination, the appropriation of literacy may involve strategic *avoidance of writing*, as well as *strategic uses of written language*'⁶⁴ has led to a general consensus that the lateness of the adoption of the script after hundreds of years of inertia by Gaulish-speaking

⁵⁸ See Bats 1988a 142–144, Woolf 1994b 87.

⁵⁹ For classical references to the Druids, see Rankin 1987 259–294. The modern literature (mostly popular) on Druids is vast, see Webster 1999. Haudry 1997 discusses the rejection of writing in the Celtic world, focusing on the view that texts can be false and that the oral tradition is lively whereas the written word has no soul, see also Dumézil 1940. See Rankin 1987 283–285 for references to the importance of orality in Celtic society, also Bats 2003a 376–377.

⁶⁰ Haudry 1997 11 considers the validity of Caesar's claim.

⁶¹ See Goudineau 1989 for Druids and literacy in Gaul.

⁶² Bats 1988a 132 lists some 'décalages' from the ancient world.

⁶³ Sherratt 2003 229. ⁶⁴ Rockwell 2005 6.

communities is indicative of resistance and an assertion of identity: *Selbst-darstellung* rather than assimilation to Greek practices. A significant boost to the argument derives from the recognition that the genesis of Gallo-Greek came during a period when Marseille's dominance was waning,⁶⁵ the beginnings of what was to become 'le dualisme Marseille–Rome',⁶⁶ though this aspect was overlooked by Lejeune and Lambert, who see Gallo-Greek as the result of 'une hellénisation progressive, profonde et réussie'.⁶⁷

The recognition that the creation and diffusion of Gallo-Greek may have been motivated by a less prosperous period for the Greek colonies and a rise in indigenous ethnic consciousness has marked an improvement in our understanding. However, there is no explicit evidence for a specifically 'ethnic' expression of identity and the bulk of the inscriptions now dated to the second century are graffiti and the most conspicuous examples of Gallo-Greek, lapidary inscriptions, are, for the most part, regarded as first century, suggesting that outward projections of identity may not have been the only, or the primary, motivating factor in the adoption of the script. Other internal indigenous factors and external Italian influence, which in some instances may be closely related, have been neglected. Writing may be introduced as a result of profound changes in society, as cross-cultural studies have shown. Kruta (1997) discusses the contexts for the adoption of epigraphy for Celtic languages across ancient Europe and notes that the development of urban networks and the nascent use of coinage are key features. Around the second century in Southern Gaul settlements increase in density and complexity, and epigraphy must have become useful for marking property in this more populous environment, particularly, for example, in the context of communal dining.⁶⁸ Similarly, the shift in economic power to greater indigenous control and the intensifying Roman role widened the circulation of coins in indigenous communities and conversance with both writing and its utility.⁶⁹ Whilst hoards and early imitations of Massaliote coins are found

⁶⁵ See Bats 1988a 143, Woolf 1994b 88. ⁶⁶ Bats 1992b 275. ⁶⁷ Lambert 1992 294.

⁶⁸ Py (e.g. 2003 306) thinks that there may have been a close link between the Gallo-Greek graffiti and feasting. For the importance of feasting in maintaining social relations, see Dietler 1990, 1992. Russell (forthcoming) has suggested that *celicnon* (RIG II.1 L-13, Alise-Sainte-Reine) and *celicnu* (RIG II.2 L-51, Banassac) may be diminutive formations of **ke:lyo-* 'companion' (Old Irish *céile*, Welsh *cilydd*), meaning something along the lines of 'a small place of companionship', perhaps a 'banqueting place', which, if correct, would be new evidence for the possible association of written Gaulish and feasting.

⁶⁹ The Roman conquest of parts of Spain in the second century vastly increased the quantities of metals available for coinage, see Wilson 2008 177. For Roman monetization, see Howgego 1992, 1994. Woolf 1998 92 suggests that the use of coin legends in some communities may imply a more widespread literacy which is no longer extant. The case of Roman Britain could provide a possible counter-example: the Roman script is adopted to write coin legends in the

in the lower Rhône basin from the fifth century, these are extremely rare.⁷⁰ The circulation of coins was only widespread in Mediterranean Gaul from the second century and we can only speak of a monetary economy from the first century. This monetization must be linked with Roman dominion, which entailed significant changes to value and exchange systems and the introduction of systematic taxation.⁷¹

The creation and developmental period of Gallo-Greek coincides with intensifying contacts with the Italian peninsula and steadily increasing trade and influence. This may have been not only a factor in encouraging the internal development of the indigenous communities, but also a further motivating force in the spread of epigraphic consciousness. Christol refers to the prominent early uses of Roman epigraphy: milestones and triumphal inscriptions, and argues that a number of Republican lapidary inscriptions have been wrongly dated to the Imperial period.⁷² Indeed, we shall see that few Greek lapidary inscriptions can be assigned to pre-Imperial Gaul and none to the hinterland (Chapter 6).⁷³ Bats and others seem reluctant to see the Italian influences as a truly significant factor. Rather, Bats refers to a change in relations between the Greeks and indigenous communities as being the motivation to adopt literacy (p. 98), and views the timing of the development under the Romans as somewhat paradoxical.⁷⁴ He reduces Roman influence to a *laissez-faire* attitude towards multiculturalism and vernacular languages. Elsewhere he adds that the affirmation of Gaulish identity was ‘radicalisée par les contacts politiques et économiques développés par les conquérants et leurs représentants sur place – soldats, administrateurs, colons, marchands’, but this appears as an afterthought in an article centred on Gaulish–Greek interaction.⁷⁵ Influence from Italy must be afforded more than an afterthought.

4.2.3 Multiple origins, mechanisms of diffusion and ‘strategic uses of literacy’

Given the nature of the diffusion and, in particular, the belief that the double theta for the *tau gallicum* was unlikely to have been created independently

pre-conquest period but probably very little else, see Mullen 2007a 31 note 1, Williams 2001b, 2002, 2005, 2007.

⁷⁰ For analysis of the coins found in Mediterranean Gaul dating from the sixth to first century BC, the new *corpus* assembled by Feugère and Py (2011) will prove indispensable.

⁷¹ See Dietler 1997 304–305, 2010 72–73 for a summary and bibliography.

⁷² Christol 1995.

⁷³ With the possible exception of the Noves stele (IGF 54), which may be Gallo-Greek (§10.1).

⁷⁴ See Bats 2003a 378, 2004 19. ⁷⁵ Bats 2003a 377.

throughout the region, Lejeune argues that education must have been crucial in the spread of the script.⁷⁶ He asserts that, although Gaulish speakers attending the schools of Marseille took the initiative to create Gallo-Greek, the Massaliote colonies had little impact in its diffusion. ‘En revanche, il faut supposer que, dans l’intérieur, une chaîne d’écoles indigènes (à Glanum, à Nîmes et ailleurs) a servi de relais à la diffusion de l’écriture.’⁷⁷ In reality, we know little about educational provision and how indigenous people might have been included, if at all (§§6.4.1, 9.3.1).⁷⁸ When Strabo (4.1.5) says Massaliote schools included barbarians μικρὸν πρότερον, he is not referring to the period of the creation and initial diffusion of Gallo-Greek, but, considering his sources and standard temporal references, is probably referring to some point between the beginning of the first century and the Augustan period.⁷⁹ Bats has published two *abecedaria* discovered at Lattes, dated to just before and just after 200, which he believes may give us a more realistic insight into education.⁸⁰ It is likely that these are Greek alphabets and not Gallo-Greek, as the more complete one includes zeta and the other the rare Greek word κνάξ, found in writing exercises and magical texts from Egypt.⁸¹ Nevertheless, these alphabets could have been used by Gaulish speakers, either for writing Greek or Gallo-Greek, as, once alphabets are adopted, often original ‘theoretical’ alphabets continue to be used for teaching purposes.⁸² However, proposing from these two alphabets ‘une véritable organisation de l’apprentissage’ exceeds the evidence, and Lambert is right to want to wait for more decisive information.⁸³

Perhaps we also need to question the notion of a single origin for the script and diffusion through schooling. Whilst the use of the theta is indeed perhaps unlikely to have been created independently, we have seen that the so-called *tau gallicum* in fact had a range of different avatars in the Gallo-Greek *corpus* and it is not impossible that the script may have undergone

⁷⁶ Lejeune 1983 747–749.

⁷⁷ *RIG I* page 5. Lejeune even suggests that ‘il n’y a pas emprunt d’une écriture sans emprunt de la pédagogie qui la sert’ (1989 1288–1289).

⁷⁸ For the problems of identifying schools archaeologically, see Bucking 2012.

⁷⁹ See Bats 2003a 370. For the ancient sources referring to writing in Gaul, see Bats 2003a 369–371.

⁸⁰ See Bats 1988a 127–128, 1988b, 2004 9–10, 17.

⁸¹ See Bats 1988b 148, 2003a 375–376, 2004 17, to which should be added Crihiore 1996 39–40. Fournet notes that ‘L’intérêt de l’ostrakon de Lattes est de remonter de plus de deux siècles l’usage scolaire qui en a été fait. [...] L’ostrakon de Lattes s’avère même le plus ancien exemple de *chalinus* scolaire’ (2000 65).

⁸² See Bats 2004 17.

⁸³ Bats 2004 18, see Lambert 1997 38–39. An inscription from Manching (Bavaria),]ZHΘ, may be an *abecedarium* (Woolf 1994b 92) or the Greek imperative ζῆθι (Bats 2003a 378).

more than one independent creation in the lower Rhône basin. The evidence cited above from the port centre of Lattes and from Martigues (p. 106) (positioned between the Mediterranean and the Étang de Berre)⁸⁴ is perhaps suggestive of the type of multicultural maritime hubs in which close communication between local people and individuals able to write Greek would be likely to occur. At both sites, at the very dawn of the period during which we believe Gallo-Greek begins, it appears that we can see the use of Greek script to write Gaulish names in, at least partly, indigenous contexts. As we have seen, the question of whether we are dealing with Gallo-Greek or Greek at these sites is a contentious one, but the evidence, particularly of BITOYKAOBIOC AICIANIOC along with PITYMOC on the same vessel at Martigues, suggests a period of experimentation, which may have led to the creation of Gallo-Greek. The context of maritime interaction might well suit the invention (multiple or otherwise) of the script. At these sites some local people will have learnt to write their names in contracts and other trading documents in Greek, and to have marked vessels with information as to their contents and/or price,⁸⁵ and this basic literacy could be easily transferred to creating graffiti on pottery for the indigenous context. In the absence of any evidence, there seems no need to bring elites, aristocracy or Druids into this picture.

The distribution of sites and genre of texts may be of importance in understanding the diffusion of Gallo-Greek, whether we follow the monogenetic hypothesis or not, though admittedly the low numbers in the data set can be easily distorted by chance finds and fakes. The earliest known Gallo-Greek inscriptions are mostly graffiti on ceramic, largely black-glossed Campanian ware, which may be linked to the prestige of those items and perhaps a desire to appropriate foreign objects.⁸⁶ The votive inscriptions and epitaphs on stone perhaps present the most conspicuous evidence, along with the rock inscriptions discovered at Cavaillon (*RIG I G-117*), Istres (Lejeune 1988 G-519) and Martigues (Lejeune 1988 G-501).⁸⁷ Coin legends, dating mostly to the first century, have also appeared at several sites, the most prolific being Béziers, Nîmes, Avignon and Cavaillon.⁸⁸ Lead inscriptions are rare and the majority are incomprehensible, and therefore it

⁸⁴ For Martigues, see Chausserie-Laprée 2005.

⁸⁵ For possible 'commercial' inscriptions at Lattes, see Bats 1988b 158.

⁸⁶ Woolf 1994b 88. See also Bats 2004 13 who notes that the positions of the graffiti suggest the importance of immediate visibility.

⁸⁷ Bats 2000 75 presents the following percentages for the material supports: 1.2 rock, 23.1 lapidary, 71.2 ceramic, 4.3 other.

⁸⁸ *RIG IV*.

seems odd for Bats to exclude commercial usage.⁸⁹ Various genres of Gaulish epigraphy may have been written on perishable materials and subsequently lost and the testimony of Caesar is particularly interesting in this regard.⁹⁰ He describes *rationes* of the *Helvetii* written *litteris Graecis*:

in castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae, et ad Caesarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes mulieresque. (B.G. 1.29.1)

In the camp of the *Helvetii* documents written in Greek characters were found and brought to Caesar in which a register had been drawn up, name by name, showing the number who had left their homes, those who were able to bear arms, and also separate lists of boys, old men and women.

There has been some debate as to whether *litteris Graecis* refers to Gallo-Greek or to Greek,⁹¹ as references to *littera* and γράμματα sometimes indicate language rather than simply script, though this seems unlikely considering the restricted use of Greek in Gaul (§6.4). The *Helvetii* were a tribe in what is now northern Switzerland, not a great distance from the attestations of Gallo-Greek in Central-eastern Gaul, and may have written *rationes* in Gallo-Greek. The wording *graecis litteris* also occurs at B.G. 5.48.4 where it has been taken to mean ‘Greek language’: *hanc Graecis conscriptam litteris mittit, ne intercepta epistola nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur* ‘He sent this letter written in Greek so that, if it were intercepted, the enemy would not discover our plans.’⁹² However, this is a quite different context (the territory of the *Nervii* and an encoded letter) and there is no reason to exclude different referents for the term. Nevertheless, whatever the referent at B.G. 1.29.1, we should be cautious about assigning too much value to the Caesarian assertion which may well have been fabricated to lend authority to an estimated, and presumably exaggerated, number of enemy killed.⁹³

⁸⁹ Bats 1988a 141. E.g. *RIG I* G-9 (Eyguières), G-116 (Carpentras), G-123 (Cavaillon), G-199 (Gaujac), G-269–270 (Alise-Sainte-Reine).

⁹⁰ Cf. D.S. 5.28.6 which may concern Southern Gaul. See Bats 2004 19, Feugère and Lambert 2004 4 for possible lost material. Woolf 1994b 93 notes that, despite Caesar’s comments, extensive excavations at sites in Northern Gaul have produced meagre evidence of texts or writing equipment. Cf. Derks and Roymans 2002 who claim finds of seal boxes in the Rhine Delta suggest the spread of literacy and Latin to settlements via the army.

⁹¹ For instance, Bats 2003a 370–371, 2004 19 (Greek), *contra* 1988a 145, 2000 77–78 (Gallo-Greek).

⁹² Adams 2003a 329 note 61, Bannert 1976, Bats 2003a 370–371, Williams 2001b 8.

⁹³ Woolf argues that even if B.G. 1.29.1 was fabricated by Caesar to bolster his role as defender of the Republic, the ability of the *Helvetii* to write *rationes* appears to be presented as unremarkable (1994b 90). However, one could simply put this down to Roman cultural arrogance or ignorance. Bats notes that on this evidence numerical notation would have been

Certain sites, such as Entremont, are virtually anepigraphic, whereas Glanum, a settlement supposedly within the same population group (*Salluvii*) designated by the Romans, is rich in Gallo-Greek epigraphy (§8.2.3).⁹⁴ The use of Gallo-Greek epigraphy at Glanum and Cavaillon ranges from monumental epigraphy to graffiti on pottery, whereas at some sites, for example Saint-Blaise, only graffiti are attested.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, the internal factors which might have motivated the choices concerning Gallo-Greek are now largely irrecoverable. It is possible that at certain sites the lack of epigraphy represents a deliberate rejection, a choice to avoid a new means of expression, which may have been associated, at least partially, with external influences. At sites such as Entremont, however, which has traditionally been seen as a focal point of resistance, the lack of epigraphy may simply be the result of the end of occupation in the beginning of the first century;⁹⁶ few sites produce Gallo-Greek inscriptions pre-125.⁹⁷ Since configurations of power are vitally important in reactions to literacy, it may be possible to argue that discontinuities in the epigraphic record reflect a lack of continuity and influence of power structures, either external (e.g. Greek, Roman) or internal.⁹⁸ We might contrast, for instance, the more intense and continuous adoption of Latin epigraphy in the same area from the twenties BC (§9.1).

Though the origins of Gallo-Greek possibly begin with graffiti on pottery and may be strongly associated with trading contexts and internal requirements, the lapidary development can perhaps be associated with additional factors in the evolving cultural environment of the first century. In this period the number of ‘non-indigenous’ individuals rises in the hinterland, partly due to influxes from the Italian peninsula (§1.5.3). These incomers bring not only the notion of an ‘epigraphic habit’,⁹⁹ which does not appear to have been embraced by Phokaian Greeks in Asia Minor or Southern

required for Gallo-Greek, for which we have no clear evidence (1988a 145; for possible evidence, see 2004 15).

⁹⁴ For Entremont, see Benoit 1968, 1969, CAG 13/4 125–168, Coutagne 1993, Dietler 2010 91–92, also the dossier in volume 21 (1998) of *Documents d’archéologie méridionale* (11–108).

⁹⁵ The evidence displays a good deal of discrepancy between communities producing graffiti. At La Cloche aux Pennes-Mirabeau approximately forty per cent of Campanian A ware is inscribed, whereas at Baou de Saint-Marcel the figure is just over two per cent (see Bats 2004 18–19, Marty 1999 202–209).

⁹⁶ The original date of 123 for the destruction of Entremont was the creation of Benoit. Excavation in the 1980s and 1990s showed the date to be too early, see André and Charrière 1998 for a discussion of the history of the site. Gateau 1990 uses ceramic evidence to demonstrate that Entremont was occupied until c. 90 (and Le Baou-Roux until 100 and Saint-Blaise until 130–120).

⁹⁷ For details, see Bats 2004 12–13. ⁹⁸ For this argument, see Woolf 1994b 89, 98.

⁹⁹ For this phrase, see MacMullen 1982.

Gaul (§6.4.1), but also a stronger motivation for the local communities to express themselves in reaction to a new order and increasing numbers of the ‘other’. Evidence for Italian influence in the development of Gallo-Greek will be presented in the following chapters and the distribution of the script strengthens the argument. The most prolific sites for lapidary Gallo-Greek are Glanum,¹⁰⁰ Nîmes¹⁰¹ and Cavaillon¹⁰² and all three later transform into significant Roman settlements. This progression from centres of Gallo-Greek epigraphy to Romanized urban foci may support the argument that Italian influence was one factor in the development of Gallo-Greek. Indeed, the least controversial example of an ‘official’ Gallo-Greek inscription is that of the ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡ at Vitrolles (*RIG* I G-108),¹⁰³ an obvious parallel to which is the *LEKATOS* at Briona (Italy) (*RIG* II.1 E-1),¹⁰⁴ both of whose Celtic-speaking communities had invested, at least superficially, in Roman modes of organization.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, coins are strongly influenced by Roman forms, and include digraphic examples (Greek *and* Latin script e.g. *RIG* IV 191), though the majority of these are attested further north.¹⁰⁶ As supporting evidence, again from outside the region, Laubenheimer’s discussion of Gallo-Greek in Northern Gaul notes that the distribution of inscriptions follows that of the Roman denier.¹⁰⁷

The question of who writes (and reads) inscriptions in the communities must be a consideration in understanding the diffusion of the script, but one for which we are underprepared. In contrast to Greek and Latin epigraphy, and except for very rare inscriptions such as those mentioning ‘officials’ just cited, we have no secure idea of the status of those responsible for Gallo-Greek. Our best option is to examine the purpose of the inscriptions, and thus attempt to analyse their function and possible authors. The graffiti on ceramic have been found in both habitations and necropoleis.¹⁰⁸ It is possible that in both cases the graffiti were marks of property and

¹⁰⁰ See §8.2. ¹⁰¹ See n. 114. ¹⁰² See Arcelin 2003 137.

¹⁰³ For this inscription, see Lejeune 1968–70, *CAG* 13/1 334–335 no. 117.1*, Häussler 2002 63–64.

¹⁰⁴ For this inscription, see Adams 2003b 190–191, Campanile 1981, Häussler 2002 65–66, 2008 59–60, Meissner 2004.

¹⁰⁵ Lambert notes that literacy may have been important in the ‘official’ sphere (1992 293–294, 1997 43–45). De Hoz 2007 discusses the institutional vocabulary of the Celts; however, by his own admission the evidence is partial and the attached meanings hypothetical. The evidence includes *B.G.* 1.29.1 and 6.14 (it is not clear in the latter whether *utantur* refers to *Druides* or to *Galli* (*RIG* I page 3), see Bats 2003a 371). The evidence from the inscriptions is meagre: TOOYTIOYC NAMAYCATIC (*RIG* I G-153) and the rock inscription at Istres (Lejeune 1988 G-519) may be ‘official’ in some sense. The inscriptions from Beaucaire (*RIG* I G-163), Martigues (Lejeune 1988 G-501), Montmirat (*RIG* I G-202), Alise-Sainte-Reine (G-257), Mailly-le-Camp (G-275–278) remain enigmatic.

¹⁰⁶ See *RIG* IV page 7. ¹⁰⁷ Laubenheimer 1987. ¹⁰⁸ Bats 2004 13.

the authorship may have been relatively unrestricted in social terms.¹⁰⁹ Many of the monumental inscriptions look to be of a similar type, mostly on identifiably ‘Gaulish’ material and in sometimes neat, but generally unskilled, hands. Bats’s assertion that these are the product of ‘chefs et notables’ of a ‘société fortement hiérarchique’ seems to exceed the direct evidence.¹¹⁰

Exceptions to the relatively unskilled inscriptions, namely the inscriptions from Nîmes (*RIG* I G-203) and Saint-Côme (G-214), warn against overgeneralization. Both are inscribed abaci of the same dimensions, layout and formula (§7.2) and appear to be the product of a professional stone-cutter. No one has attempted to account for the late date or professional nature of these inscriptions. An interpretation is proposed here for the Nîmois example, which highlights the importance of reconsidering entrenched views. Lejeune describes it as ‘trouvée au temple de la Fontaine’ (le sanctuaire de la Fontaine, Nîmes). Those not au fait with the history of the site might assume that this was the original find-spot.¹¹¹ However, during the creation of the Jardins de la Fontaine in the eighteenth century on the ancient site, an archaeological depot was created in the temple to house the large numbers of artefacts found.¹¹² The inscription should therefore almost certainly be attached to the sanctuary, though the exact find-spot is unknown. In the absence of precise contextual information, the presence of the Gallo-Greek text has forced scholars to attribute the abacus to the pre-Augustan, indigenous sanctuary. The later date (first or second century AD), based on epigraphy, has been rejected by many scholars who consider it unlikely that a Gaulish inscription to indigenous deities would have been placed in a sanctuary dedicated to the Imperial cult.¹¹³ Yet, the exceptional qualities of the object suggest that we should not exclude this possibility. The inscription may have been commissioned as part of the redevelopment of the original sanctuary to demonstrate continuity and perhaps appropriation and control of native cults by the Romans (cf. La Tour Magne): a vivid

¹⁰⁹ See Biddulph 2006 for the possible function of names on funerary pottery, including the use of the genitive on cinerary containers to mark the name of the deceased, the inscription of names in the nominative to mark the presence of mourners but also the use of already inscribed pottery.

¹¹⁰ Bats 1988a 147.

¹¹¹ Similarly, the inscription from Saint-Côme (15 kilometres west of Nîmes) cannot be contextualized, as it was reused in the foundations of a wall.

¹¹² See Darde 1987. This construction is also known as ‘Le temple de Diane’, though there is no evidence for such a function. The series of niches in the northern wall of the *cella* might suggest a library *vel sim.*, see Darde 2005 66–69.

¹¹³ For the assignation of the sanctuary to the Imperial cult, see Gros 1984.



Figure 2 *RIG II.2 L-1*, Ventabren, Musée d'archéologie méditerranéenne de Marseille.

expression of the link between the development of Gallo-Greek and Roman culture.¹¹⁴

4.3 Gallo-Latin in Southern Gaul

The only two possible instances of lapidary Gallo-Latin (Gaulish written in Latin alphabet) from Southern Gaul in *RIG II.1* are problematic. Both are from the Bouches-du-Rhône region: *VECTIT[...]|BIRACI[...]* (L-1 (Ventabren)) and *BOVDIL|ATIS · LEMI|SVNIA* (L-2 (Coudoux)) (Figures 2 and 3).¹¹⁵ The second inscription might be more securely assigned to Gaulish as it contains the Gaulish patronymic suffix *-ia*. However, the Ventabren stele does not provide any diagnostic features, and may well be Latin (containing Gaulish names). In fact both may have been intended to

¹¹⁴ Dominique Darde (p.c.) is willing to entertain this possibility, based on her conception of a relatively peaceful and embracing process of settlement and 'Romanization' at Nîmes. For Nîmes, see CAG 30/1, Célié, Garmy and Monteil 1994, Christol 1992, 2001a, Christol and Deneux 2001, Christol and Goudineau 1987, Darde 1990, 2005, Darde and Christol 2003, Dietler 2010 89–91, Huard 1982, Lejeune 1994b, Py 1981, 1990, Rivet 1988 162–181, Varène 1987.

¹¹⁵ See the discussion in *RIG II.1* pages 63–68 and Lejeune 1977a.



Figure 3 *RIG* II.2 L-2, Coudoux, Musée de Ventabren.

be Latin, but written by Celtic-speaking groups not conversant with Latin epigraphic conventions. Bats points out that Lejeune (1983) is wrong to propose ‘une évolution en trois volets (gallo-grec jusqu’à César, puis gallo-latin jusqu’à Claude et enfin latin)’.¹¹⁶ Rather Gallo-Latin is juxtaposed with Gallo-Greek and Latin.¹¹⁷ Indeed, though this overlapping is a likely scenario, we might wonder whether a Gallo-Latin phase can be posited for Southern Gaul at all.¹¹⁸ The inscriptions from Ventabren and Coudoux are poor evidence and this leaves one inscription from Orange (*RIG* II.2 L-18), about which Lambert notes ‘il ne s’agit pas d’une véritable inscription gallo-latine, mais de la citation, en contexte latin, d’un mot gaulois’,¹¹⁹ the Amélie-les-Bains tablets (L-97), which possibly contain elements of Gaulish in Latin script, though caution must be exercised as this is a magical text known only through transcriptions (§2.2.1)¹²⁰ and perhaps one or two fragmentary graffiti whose linguistic affiliations are uncertain.¹²¹ In sum, the evidence for a Gallo-Latin epigraphic phase is meagre: it is largely restricted

¹¹⁶ Bats 1988a 145.

¹¹⁷ Bats refers to a rare inscription from Entremont in cursive Latin with Greek letters, and coin legends from ‘Gaule interne’ demonstrating confusions such as Greek rho for Latin R and the lunate sigma for Latin S (1988a 146). Moberg 1987 discusses bilingual coin legends.

¹¹⁸ Langslow 2002 33 notes that script is often the first aspect to be affected in language shift, even before onomastics.

¹¹⁹ *RIG* II.2 page 36.

¹²⁰ Just north of our area of study, in the Aveyron, are the enigmatic Larzac lead tablets (*RIG* II.2 L-98) written largely in Gallo-Latin.

¹²¹ See Bats 2011 220 for a handful of possible examples.

to inscriptions on local coins in Latin script, some of which are likely to have been envisaged as Latin.¹²²

We might wonder why, in contradistinction to the situation in the *Tres Galliae*, Gallo-Latin is so rare in Southern Gaul. The area is relatively widely excavated and such finds are likely to have been reported, so we are unlikely to have to resort to the dictum ‘absence of evidence is not evidence of absence’. The lack of Gallo-Latin could be interpreted as resistance to Roman culture, but, considering the large numbers of Celtic names employed in the Latin inscriptions, another solution appears more cogent. Adoption of the Latin language and Roman methods of writing may have been more advanced than elsewhere in Gaul and hence Gallo-Latin was superfluous. ‘L’alphabet gallo-latin, lui, n’a pas duré très longtemps car c’était une première étape avant la romanisation complète, quand les Gaulois (de gré ou de force, on ne sait) n’ont plus écrit que le latin.’¹²³

4.4 Attitudes towards scripts: rethinking ‘Hellenization’

We might question whether different scripts – Greek (Gallo-Greek), Latin (Gallo-Latin), Iberian (used for Celtiberian in the Iberian peninsula and Celtic names and some morphology in Iberian inscriptions from South-western Gaul), Etruscan (alphabet of Lugano, Northern Italy, used for Cisalpine Gaulish and Lepontic) – for Celtic languages imply little relationship between script and identity, or whether each represents a different identity, though it is difficult to gauge attitudes, particularly in the absence of ancient commentary.¹²⁴ The evidence above demonstrates that each script,

¹²² Though some with terminations have Celtic -OS (*RIG* IV 32, 49, 70) and *RIG* IV 148 possibly shows the same inscription in ‘Gallo-Latin’ *DVRNACOS* / *AVSCROCOS* and ‘Latin’ *DVRNACVS* / *AVSCROCVS*.

¹²³ Lambert 1992 294. Roman Britain might offer a useful parallel. There is almost a complete lack of written Celtic: two tablets found at Aquae Sulis are inscribed in Celtic, but these are not certainly authored by British Celts and there may only be a handful of others, see Mullen 2007a. The lateness of contact with literacy may be a key reason for the lack of an indigenous script. By the time Britain comes into intense contact with literacy, Latin is the language of the Empire and epigraphy and there is no tradition of writing Celtic in Britain.

¹²⁴ Even Greek and Roman grammarians are quiet on this issue. For attitudes towards Greek and Latin scripts, see Hall 1997 for dialectal variants of Greek, and Desbordes 1990 for Roman views. Adams 2003a 43–53, 88–92 discusses the link between language and script that is seen when texts are transliterated; this can represent a strategy on the part of the ‘author’ to demonstrate a particular aspect of identity.

contact culture, community and inscription must be afforded consideration and there is little scope for generalization.¹²⁵

Early scholarship argued that the adoption of Greek script in Gaul was part of a general acculturation process.¹²⁶ With advances in conceptual theory, particularly regarding the intricacies of cultural change and the importance of the indigenous element, the focus changed. For the last few decades, Gallo-Greek has been viewed as an outward manifestation of the increased sense of ethnic identity and power felt by the Gaulish-speaking communities: not a straightforward assimilation process but a complex reaction to Greek colonial power. Gallo-Greek even has been described in anachronistic terms as ‘l’écriture nationale des Gaulois’.¹²⁷ As Woolf notes, once again the link with France’s approved ancestry is overstressed.¹²⁸ In reality, Gallo-Greek was more an ‘écriture régionale’, whose use was sporadic, localized and in competition with other scripts. Gaulish-speaking people were not a monolithic group and the diversity described above reveals discontinuous and evolving cultural configurations.

A consideration of the epigraphic record suggests that two main factors have been underplayed: internal factors and non-Massaliote external factors. As we saw in §4.1, each use of Greek script does not necessarily hark back to the colonial Greeks and an ‘us versus them’ mentality. We have seen that graffiti on pottery and coin legends can be fitted into new patterns of urbanization, population growth and the economic development of indigenous sites and the influence of the Mediterranean *koine*. We have also demonstrated that more complex origins for the adoption of the script may be possible and that Italian influence was significant in the development and elaboration of Gallo-Greek. It is not paradoxical that contacts with Italy encouraged and facilitated the diffusion of Gallo-Greek. Self-expression became increasingly important in a period when non-Celtic-speaking populations were steadily becoming more dominant and populous. The elaboration of Gallo-Greek was not necessarily a reaction against these populations, but was a reaction nonetheless, which can be paralleled in the adoption of non-Roman scripts in the West by

¹²⁵ See Woolf 2002 186.

¹²⁶ In the 1990s Lambert (1992 294, 1997 50) still espoused the view of a successful and profound Hellenization.

¹²⁷ Lejeune 1983 744. Some Italian scholars have referred to the alphabet of Lugano as the national Celtic alphabet, see Häussler 2008 59.

¹²⁸ Woolf 1994b 85.

other previously anepigraphic communities faced with growing Roman power.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ For instance, the Oscans, who adopt Etruscan, Greek and ‘Oscan national’ scripts as well as Roman (Antonini 1990, Rix 2005) and the so-called Celtiberians in North-eastern Spain who adopt Iberian script under the Romans and produce distinctive fusions of Roman and indigenous genres (Beltrán Lloris 1995a, 1999, 2001, Untermann 1995). See also the volume devoted to *Roma y el nacimiento de la cultura epigráfica en Occidente* (Beltrán Lloris 1995b), De Hoz 2006 and Prag forthcoming.

5.1 Situating the debate

Though ‘the study of personal names does not always arouse enthusiasm among historical linguists’,¹ the importance of onomastics for the ancient world should not be underestimated. Often names transmitted, though sometimes garbled, by Greek and Roman sources, are our only linguistic evidence for otherwise illiterate communities and some communities in contact with literacy never develop more than signature literacy (see §4.1). Despite the associated methodological difficulties,² names can offer insights into the identity of their bearers and linguistic contacts. Roman, and to a lesser extent Greek, naming practices potentially provide a wide range of information: gender, filiation (maternal and paternal) or ‘relational’ adoption,³ family name, voting tribe, origin, occupation,⁴ political affiliation and social status. The Celtic system presents less information, being generally restricted to gender and filiation, though this assumption may be a consequence of our partial knowledge.⁵

General theoretical and methodological guides to onomastics are rare, especially ones which attempt to link onomastics to identity and cultural contacts.⁶ The scholarship generally falls into two categories: *onomastica*⁷

¹ Morpurgo Davies 2000 15. ² See Evans 1979a 508–509, 520–523.

³ Adoption in this book refers to the adoption of names between different linguistic communities. Adoption into a family may be distinguished by the additional term ‘relational’.

⁴ Occupations (especially military or governmental) can be noted explicitly in inscriptions, though this is not technically deemed part of the naming formula. Names may also directly use the name of the occupation (Masson 1973) or be specifically associated with it.

⁵ Some inscriptions provide additional information, e.g. *RIG I G-108*, 153, *RIG II.2 L-98*, though these may be exceptional.

⁶ Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier 2001b, Morpurgo Davies 2000 are excellent, if brief, introductions. Walther 1996 considers the interdisciplinary importance of onomastics, but focuses predominantly on Germanic and Slavic ethnonymy and toponymy. Weisberger 1968 and 1969 are often cited as stimuli for modern methodological frameworks.

⁷ *Onomastica* relevant to this study are listed in *CPNRB*, to which should be added: Bechtel 1917, Fraser and Matthews 1987, 1997, Kajanto 1965, Luján 2003, *NPC*, Osborne and Byrne 1994, Pape and Benseler 1911, Schulze 1904, Solin 1996, 2003, Solin and Salomies 1994.

and analytical studies⁸ which often treat temporally and geographically restricted groups. Traditionally, the latter attempted to determine the ethnic composition of regions, though this is highly problematic.⁹ Recently, analytical studies have increasingly concentrated on the complex links between identity and onomastics,¹⁰ and Latin names, including those of *Gallia Narbonensis*, have been a focal point.¹¹ Adams acknowledges that ‘identity as expressed through language comes out particularly in the usage of names’¹² and ‘at a time of language shift in a bilingual community names are a significant indicator of the sense of identity of their bearers’.¹³ The framework set out here complements Adams’s discussion, which examines code-switching (§3.1.1). He summarizes that ‘if a name of language A is inflected in language A in a text of language B, code-switching of a particular type has taken place. [...] The name is such an inseparable part of a person’s identity that it may retain its grammatical characteristics when it is transferred into another language.’¹⁴

This book will not tackle the general analysis of traditional studies, but will consider the complexity of linguistic interaction, names and identity. This introduction outlines the scope and limitations of the analysis of personal names (and theonyms, in an indirect way, for which see §8.2.6).¹⁵

⁸ Analytical studies relevant to this study include Albertos Firmat 1975, 1983, Alföldy 1966, Chantraine 1933 (partly *onomasticon*), Chastagnol 1994, Christol 2006, Correa 1993, De Bhalldraithe 1990, Deman 2001, Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier 2001a, Eichler 1995–6, Evans 1964, 1972, 1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1994, Faust 1979, Fleuriot 1982, Forier 2001, Fraenkel 1935, Gély 1988, Gorrochategui 1990, Hornblower 2000, Hornblower and Matthews 2000 (see S. Lambert 2001), Kajanto 1966 (also *onomasticon*), 1966–7, 1968, Kuryłowicz 1960, Lambert 1985, 1995, Lamoine 2007, Lassère 1988, Le Glay 1977, Lejeune 1977b, Masson 1995, Mayer 2002, Morris 1963, Motta 1973, 1980, 1993a, Mullen 2007b, Parker 2000, Pflaum 1978, Pflaum and Duval 1977, Rémy 2001, Rix 1972, 1995b, Robert 1968, Salomies 1987, Salway 1994, Schmidt 1995, Schmitt 1995a, 1995b, Schulze 1904, Shackleton Bailey 1976, Shisha-Halevy 1989, Solin 1971, Solmsen and Fraenkel 1922, Thylander 1952 54–185, Uhlich 1993, Untermann 1969a, 1969b.

⁹ Hatt 1951 23 remarks ‘la documentation épigraphique dont nous disposons est manifestement insuffisante pour une pareille fin. Tout ce qu’on peut lui demander, c’est de nous éclairer sur le niveau de civilisation du milieu où ces inscriptions ont été élaborées.’

¹⁰ For the centrality of names in identity, see Joseph 2004 11–12, 176–181, who claims that names are important in all cultures, though to varying degrees.

¹¹ E.g. Christol 2001a, Christol and Deneux 2001, Dondin-Payre 2001, Forier 2001, Hatt 1951 23–62, Pflaum 1978, Ricci 1992. An exhaustive, up-to-date database of the Latin names of Southern Gaul does not exist, though Cibu 2000 provides a useful list of names from *Gallia Narbonensis* published in *AE* (1925–96).

¹² Adams 2003a 752. The main discussion is 369–380.

¹³ Adams 2003a 753. ¹⁴ Adams 2003a 369.

¹⁵ For theonymy, see Bémont 1986, Bourgeois 1991, Green 1986, Hatt 1989 (the second unpublished volume has been made available online <<http://jeanjacqueshatt.free.fr/Avertissement.htm>>), King 1990b, Lacroix 2007, Lavagne 1979, Millett 1995, Olmsted 1994, RDG, Webster 1995, 1997.

Hybrid names and unusual formulae, which have generally posed problems for traditional studies, will be central. Toponyms, ethnonyms and hydronyms are not as important for the present work, which deals primarily with epigraphic evidence; several of the principles discussed here can be applied to their study, though some issues specific to their analysis naturally arise.¹⁶ After considering the onomastic systems of the linguistic communities in Southern Gaul, a theoretical guide will be presented to show how the adoption of names, formulae and filiation patterns between different linguistic communities illuminate processes of socio-cultural change.¹⁷

5.2 Personal names of Southern Gaul

In order to facilitate examination of names throughout the study, the standard formulae and naming preferences of each of the linguistic communities are set out below.

5.2.1 Greek nomenclature and formulae

In the ancient world, Greek names were divided into ἄθρα ὀνόματα and θεοφόρα ὀνόματα,¹⁸ and these categories have been subdivided in modern studies. This is not the place to present a detailed discussion of these subdivisions, though consideration of any *corpus* of Greek names must be informed by an understanding of overall trends and patterns in naming practices over time and space.¹⁹ As we shall see, the nomenclature of ‘*Gallia Graeca*’²⁰ seems to retain distinctively Phokaian and Ionic features into the Roman period (§5.4).

Relational designation

A single name was the normal designation for Greek-speaking individuals, though on public inscriptions a patronymic, the name of the woman’s husband, or, occasionally, a matronymic or papponymic were added, e.g.

¹⁶ For works treating toponymy and hydronymy, see Russell 1988a 139–140, to which can be added: De Hoz 2005b (and ethnonymy), De Hoz, Luján and Sims-Williams 2005, Sims-Williams 2006, Walther 1996.

¹⁷ Adams 2003a discusses this aspect, for instance with reference to Etruscan (169–179, see also Hadas-Lebel 2004 *passim*, but especially 59–292, Kaimio 1975, Rix 1956, 1995a), Punic (213–221) and Celtic (703–707) adoption of Latin names.

¹⁸ Ath. 10.448d–e. ¹⁹ For details, see Hartmann 2002, Masson 1995, McLean 2002 74–93.

²⁰ For this phrase, see Jacobsthal and Neuffer 1933 and §6.1.

[Κ]λεῦδης Διονυσίου (*IGF* 15 (Marseille)).²¹ This additional designation in the genitive followed the personal name.²² Patronymic adjectives in -ιος were found in Mycenaean and Homeric Greek, but later only in Aeolic dialects.²³

Additional elements

Table 7 lists non-relational additional elements.

5.2.2 Gaulish nomenclature and formulae

Our knowledge of Greek and Latin nomenclature is considerably more advanced than that of Gaulish nomenclature. Indeed, it is not always easy to decide which names should be considered Gaulish. The idea of a ‘scale of Celticity’, based on phonology, morphology, lexical content and a careful comparison of early Insular and Continental Celtic names,²⁴ can be used as a guide.²⁵ However, in analysing whether the names fit these criteria many uncertainties arise, caused in particular by the similarities between Latin and Celtic languages and the effects of language contact. If we consider the criterion of morphology, for instance, perhaps only one suffix may be distinctively Celtic: -ako (it occurs only very rarely in Latin).²⁶

Filiation

Continental Celtic languages mark filiation either with the father’s name in the genitive or in the nominative with adjectival suffixation.²⁷ The

²¹ Occasionally public figures were given a second name in the classical and Hellenistic periods, though this was a sobriquet (indicated by the addition of ὁ / ἡ, ὁ / ἡ ἐπικαλούμενος/-η etc.) and was not handed down.

²² See McLean 2002 93–96 for more details.

²³ The -ιος patronymic suffix found in Homer loses its patronymic force in the classical period.

²⁴ For the Insular Celtic record, see *CPNRB* and Mullen 2007b. An analysis of the proportions of monothematic and dithematic names, and whether these might reflect a social differentiation, would be interesting, though the quality of the material may not permit such a survey (Evans 1964 14, *GPN* 41–42). See Schmitt 1995a 619 for dithematic names in Indo-European. Hartmann 2002 discusses Elean monothematic and dithematic names. The extent to which Continental Celtic nomenclature was reliant on tribal and deity names has never been considered in detail, and a comparison with Britain might be instructive. For Celtic names in literary sources see Evans 1964, *GPN* 21–31. Better understanding of Celtic naming practices may assist the analysis of manuscript variants of Celtic names.

²⁵ De Hoz, Luján and Sims-Williams 2005, Parsons and Sims-Williams 2000 4–5, Sims-Williams 2006.

²⁶ See Russell 1988a, 1990. ²⁷ Though see Evans 1972 423 for examples of double names.

Table 7 Additional elements in Greek naming formulae

Additional element	Sub-type	Remarks	Example
Ethnic ^a		Placed after the relational designation. Appears in variant forms (§8.3.5): designates origin but sometimes specifically citizenship.	Ἀθήναιος Διονυσίου Νεωπολίτης (IGF 86 (Île Sainte-Marguerite))
Supernomina		Frequent in the epigraphic record of Asia Minor in the first century AD and common in Attica in the second century. ^b	
	Agnomina	ὁ καί, ἡ καί formulae.	Θαῖμος ὁ καί Ἰουλιανὸς <i>vacat</i> Σαάδου (IGF 141 (Lyon)) ^c
		Less common formulae such as ἐπικλήν or καλούμενος also occur.	Εὐτέκνιος ἐπικλήν, Ἰουλιανὸς τοῦνομα τῷδε (IGF 143 (Lyon))
	Signa	Within acclamations and detached from the main text. Often in the vocative, though they may be adopted into other cases by attraction.	Ἀρωμάτι ταῦτα (IGF 57 (Arles)) ^d

^a The demotic indicates adherence to a deme, though this is not of significance for Gaul. See McLean 2002 96–99.

^b ὁ καί, ἡ καί appear in papyri from an earlier date, see Wuilleumier 1933 576–582. The terminology of Kajanto 1966 is followed; it differs somewhat from that of Wuilleumier.

^c The Latin version of this bi-version bilingual text does not use the equivalent form *qui et*, but rather the *duo nomina* plus filiation: *Thaemi · Iuliani · Sati [fi]l(ii)*.

^d See Kajanto 1966 63, Wuilleumier 1933 592.

range of Continental Celtic patronymic suffixes is reasonably large. Motta remarks that the use of both patronymic genitives and suffixation in some Continental Celtic languages, and the presence of several possible means of suffixation, suggest that ‘das System noch in einer Entwicklungsphase befindet.’²⁸ Gaulish in Lugano (North Etruscan) and Latin scripts uses both

²⁸ Motta 1993a 702.

the simple genitive and the suffixation method,²⁹ Celtiberian uses the simple patronymic genitive only,³⁰ and Gaulish in Greek script relies only on patronymic adjectives: e.g. CEKEIOÇ ΔΟΥΓΓΙΛΙΟÇ (*RIG* I G-4, Coudoux);³¹ KABIPOÇ OYINΔΙΑKOC (G-118, Cavaillon); MICCOYKOC CIAOYKNOC (G-119, Cavaillon); CEΓOMAPOÇ OYIΛΛONEOC (G-153, Vaison-la-Romaine). This exclusive attestation of suffixation in Gallo-Greek is possibly due to the paucity of evidence or perhaps because the Gauls (certainly those retaining Celtic names) in Southern Gaul wanted to keep their identity separate from the colonial Greeks who used the patronymic genitive.³² Indeed, though on the surface the latter argument is persuasive and nicely links identity and naming practices, the theory advanced in later chapters indicates that contact between Gaulish and Greek-speaking communities was not always intense. It may therefore not have been a conscious decision on the part of the Gaulish communities to prioritize one formation in their representation of filiation to mark difference from their Greek neighbours, but rather that suffixation was the standard form available to them, genitive forms elsewhere in the Celtic-speaking world being either retentions of a formation lost in Southern Gaul or themselves contact-induced.

5.2.3 Latin nomenclature and formulae

The study of Latin nomenclature is well developed and can provide, with care, information about the social status and connections of the bearer (§5.3.3). Possible regional preferences in Southern Gaul would be instructive, but have not yet been comprehensively studied.³³ Whether they changed to Latin names or not, in Roman Southern Gaul *peregrini* (free-born provincials without full Roman citizenship) tended to use the formula of idionym followed by patronymic (e.g. *Secundus Dannomari f.* (*CIL* XII 3884), *Gratus Celeris f.* (*CIL* XII 3117), both from Nîmes).³⁴ If *peregrini* attained citizenship status (which they could by various means pre 212 AD,

²⁹ Gaulish in Lugano alphabet: ATEKNATI TRUTIKNI KOISIS TRUTIKNOS (*RIG* II.1 E-5); Gallo-Latin: FRONTU TARBETIS[O]NIOΣ (*RIG* II.1 L-3); ANEUNOS OCLICNOS (*RIG* II.1 L-4b). Southern Gaul provides very few examples of Gallo-Latin, see §4.3. The example from Coudoux may include a patronymic adjective in *-ia*. The Larzac tablets (*RIG* II.2 L-98) show highly unusual naming patterns, see Mullen 2007b 48.

³⁰ For details of the Celtiberian naming system, see Mullen 2007b 43.

³¹ Lambert (1992, 1997) suggests *-io* is preferred with compound names.

³² See Motta 1993a 703–704 for details; he does not want to attribute ‘großes Gewicht’ to this hypothesis.

³³ See, for instance, Dondin-Payre 2001, Forier 2001, Lefebvre 2001.

³⁴ See Chastagnol 1995 51–71.

Table 8 *Dates for Roman naming formulae*

Formulae	Dating
<i>Duo nomina</i> (<i>praenomen</i> ^a , <i>nomen</i> ^b)	Very rare after AD 50.
<i>Duo nomina</i> (<i>nomen</i> , <i>cognomen</i> ^c)	Not before the middle to end of the first century AD, in common usage by the end of the second century.
<i>Tria nomina</i> (<i>praenomen</i> , <i>nomen</i> , <i>cognomen</i>)	First appears in high-status epitaphs in the third century and in official documents in the late second century, not used by the <i>plebs ingenua</i> until 125 and not common for a century. The formula persists in <i>Gallia Narbonensis</i> until the third century AD, particularly amongst high-status characters, which is longer than elsewhere in Gaul and <i>Germania</i> . ^d

^a See Salomies 1987.
^b See Rix 1972, Schulze 1904.
^c See Kajanto 1965.
^d See Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier 2001b ix.

and universally thereafter), they used Roman naming formulae as set out in Tables 8 and 9. Overviews of the Roman naming formulae³⁵ should also always be supplemented by details of regional specificities; Table 8 presents a view of the rough timescales applicable for the use of the various formulae across the Empire. Table 9 sets out additional elements which were sometimes added to the formulae in Table 8.

5.3 Names as evidence for language contact

5.3.1 Sociolinguistic considerations

The results of contact between the different naming systems of the three linguistic communities can be informative. Adoption of formulae and nomenclature of other linguistic communities may indicate the prestige of the donor community and some level of integration. Conversely, retention of naming practices may reflect cultural continuity and conservative attitudes towards community and language. These assumptions are more secure if supported by further information from the inscriptions. As Mullen (2007b)

³⁵ See Mullen 2007b 39–40, to which should be added McLean 2002 112–148, Salomies 1987, Thylander 1952.

Table 9 *Filiation and additional elements in Roman naming formulae*

Additional element	Sub-type	Remarks	Example
Patronym		Added after the <i>nomen</i> , especially in the early Imperial period.	<i>Sex(tus) Valeri[us] Luteui f(ilius) Samicu[s]</i> (IAG 16 (Glanum))
Voting tribe		Added after filiation, especially in the early Imperial period. Relatively uncommon.	<i>C(aio) Marcio C(aii) f(ilio) Sab(atina tribu) Paeto</i> (CAG 13/2 303 (Glanum))
Double <i>cognomina</i> ^a	<i>Cognomina ex virtute</i>	Bestowed on victorious generals.	<i>P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus</i>
	Extra <i>cognomina</i>	Original <i>nomen gentilicium</i> transformed into an extra <i>cognomen</i> . Often used by 'relational' adoptees to commemorate their lineage.	<i>P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio Aemilianus</i>
<i>Supernomina</i> ^b	<i>Agnomina</i>	<i>qui / quae et / siue</i> . ^c A practice emanating from the Greek East and becoming popular in the West in the second century AD, ^f though rare in <i>Gallia Narbonensis</i> .	<i>C. Terentius Romulus siue Drimylus unctor siue [polli?]nctor</i> ^g (CIL XII 3350 (Nîmes))
	<i>Signa</i> ^c	Preceded by the term <i>signum</i> . Employed by the lower classes from the second century AD.	<i>M. Magius Sotericus signo Hilari</i> (CIL XII 1982 (Vienne))
	Detached <i>signa</i> ^d or Detached <i>supernomina</i>	Detached physically from the name, sometimes within an acclamation, either above, below or in margins, attested from the third to fifth centuries AD.	<i>Grammati</i> (CIL XII 1921 (Vienne))

^a See Salomies 1992.^b Kajanto 1966 is a detailed survey of *supernomina* from the West.^c See Kajanto 1966 52–57 for '*signa* proper', of which only four are attested in *Gallia Narbonensis*. They are distinguished from *agnomina* in that they are found with the noun *signum*, most are new formations in *-ius*, and women could use the masculine formations. For other types of *signa* (plural forms/club names) which are not attested in *Gallia Narbonensis*, see Kajanto 1966 42–52. For this example, see Willeumier 1933 606–607.^d See Kajanto 1966 57–75 for detached *signa*, of which there are five in *Gallia Narbonensis*.^e For *agnomina*, see Kajanto 1966 7–42. Occasionally other connecting expressions were employed, see Kajanto 1966 8–11. Kajanto 1966 8 provides the distribution for CIL XII: one *qui / quae et*, two *siue*, one other expression (CIL XII 684 *Liciniae Magnae quae Matronae*, see also Willeumier 1933 586).^f For the earliest examples, see Kajanto 1966 7–8.^g See Kajanto 1966 20 for this name.

explains, the physical material and lettering of the inscriptions,³⁶ and the linguistic and semantic content, facilitates analysis of the differences in naming patterns and names in diverse social milieux. Longer inscriptions may present evidence for the socio-cultural context in which the names are employed, for example, the origins of deity names and information about local practices can help to uncover the origins of dedicators after personal names have been replaced by adoption. Nevertheless, it is often impossible to gauge intentionality.³⁷

Several factors affect choice of names and naming formulae, including adherence to traditional patterns, innovation, regional preferences, socio-political standing, and, of course, the languages in contact.³⁸ In the Graeco-Roman world, naming patterns and nomenclature were important in marking identity and prestige and were intimately linked with socio-political change.³⁹ The extent to which the same was true for Celtic-speaking communities, before contact with the Greek and then Latin systems, is probably irrecoverable. There seems to have been less variation in naming formulae compared with the Latin system, the Celtic system being more similar to early Greek. Reconstructing the socio-political climate, using a patchy epigraphic record and without detailed knowledge of the socio-political history of the Celtic-speaking communities, poses challenges. In particular, the significance of ‘epigraphic bias’ should not be underestimated. Discussions of naming practices often focus on the ‘standard’, to the exclusion of epigraphically under-represented groups. Not all Celtic-speaking communities adopted epigraphic systems and we can assume that the majority of members, even of those communities that did, never took any part in the epigraphic record.

In onomastic studies divisions over methodology separate those who favour an etymological approach to the material, and those who follow an holistic approach to the names of a specified geographical area, and regard the etymological origins of little consequence.⁴⁰ A mixture of both

³⁶ Raybould 1999 studies the inscriptional evidence from Roman Britain according to a classification based on the standard of the lettering and spelling of the inscriptions, and finds that a high proportion of Celtic names appear, unsurprisingly perhaps, in her low-standard category.

³⁷ For ‘the intentionality of naming’, see Morpurgo Davies 2000 23–25. ‘The decision to preserve or abandon one’s own family names or their traditional form is normally deliberate and is significant’ (38).

³⁸ Morpurgo Davies 2000 discusses the problems arising in onomastics and stresses the importance of an interdisciplinary approach. For a discussion of the function and use of personal names, see Morpurgo Davies 2000 19–21.

³⁹ See Morris 1963 and Salway 1994 for surveys of the Latin evidence.

⁴⁰ See Kajanto 1968 for the former group and Happ 1966–7 for the latter.

approaches is desirable. A careful study of the names of a selected area, with an understanding of the wider context, allows a level of precision not possible in broader studies, but the etymological approach, undertaken with full awareness of the limitations, is also useful in interpreting the names of that area. The exhortation of those supporting the geographical approach that all the names of a given area should be treated as having been integrated into a common stock echoes the ‘Nivellierung aller vorhandenen Differenzen in eine fragwürdige Synthese’⁴¹ of which they accuse the followers of the etymological approach.

It is useful at this juncture to survey the etymological approach. The first task is that of identifying the linguistic origin of the name. This is not always simple, particularly when the languages involved are not well known, as we have seen with Gaulish. A further complication is added by the preference attested in contact situations for homonyms, known as ‘cover names’. The names in *Sen-* are good examples. It is often unclear whether *Seneca/Senica* should be seen as the Latin *cognomen* derived from *Senex* or from the Celtic stock of the same type. Kajanto notes that it occurs eighty-three times in *CIL*, though fifty-two of these attestations are from provinces where Celtic languages were spoken.⁴² The confusion over the Celticity or Latinity of these names is explained by the homonymic nature of the two forms. This is undoubtedly in origin coincidental as *cognomina* evoking age are not uncommon and the same Indo-European root **sen(o)* ‘old’ (Irish *sen*, Welsh *hen*, (/s/ > /h/ occurs in the post-Roman period)) is being employed in both Latin and Celtic.⁴³ Kajanto argues that the frequency of these ambiguous names in native contexts (both geographically and in terms of the name context) could suggest a Celtic rather than a Latin origin,⁴⁴ but the ambiguity was presumably deliberate in some cases, so we should not be forced into a decision and should regard them as ‘both Latin and non-Latin’.⁴⁵

The second task, once the etymology of the name has, if possible, been established, is to interpret the significance of the linguistic origin. The Latin, Greek and Celtic naming systems were originally made up of meaningful lexical elements.⁴⁶ The extent to which the meaning of these names

⁴¹ Happ 1966–7 88. ⁴² Kajanto 1965 301.

⁴³ For initial /s/ > /h/, see Jackson 1953 517–521. See *GPN* 375–376, *KGPN* 266–267, Luján 2003 230, *NPC* 164–166 for *Sen-* names on the Continent.

⁴⁴ Kajanto 1966–7 5. ⁴⁵ Kajanto 1966–7 12.

⁴⁶ See Evans 1994 306–307 for discussion and bibliography on the signification of names and their semantic delimitation. See Evans 1972 427, 432–434 for a discussion of ‘meaningful’ name formations in Celtic. See Schmitt 1995a for the semantic content of Indo-European names.

was appreciated was probably dependent on a series of social, geographical and chronological criteria. Certainly, comments in ancient authors imply an awareness of the semantic value of names in some periods, for instance Aristophanes, *Clouds* 60–72, which also serves to highlight that some names are meaningless, created from a desire to amalgamate traditional name elements.⁴⁷ Large numbers of Latin names lost their semantic force over time, particularly *praenomina* and *gentilicia*, perhaps as a result of their hereditary nature. Names based on numerals (e.g. *Quintus*) are a case in point; probably originally created to designate progeny born in certain months, in some cases these were reanalysed as referring to the order of birth, and later seem to have been used relatively indiscriminately.⁴⁸ Celtic evidence from Britain suggests that there may have been a practice of passing down the same name elements within the family, perhaps weakening the semantic force.⁴⁹ This semantic bleaching can speed up the loss of awareness of the origins of names, until they are viewed as part of a common stock; we might think, for instance, of the names of Etruscan origin that came to be regarded as Latin.⁵⁰ These issues are particularly pertinent for transitional periods and contact situations.

Etruscan names in Latin raise an important point. Names can cross linguistic boundaries, and their linguistic origins may become immaterial. This is a particular problem, of course, with Greek and Latin names: when the cultures are so deeply intertwined and so many Greek names have become part of the Latin stock, it is difficult to know where to draw the lines. We might consider the name *Atticus*, for example, a name which can be termed Graeco-Latin; clearly this name was in origin Greek, but became so popular amongst Romans that it would be perverse if we considered it Greek in Roman contexts without question.

⁴⁷ Though in fact Φειδιππίδης was a meaningful Homeric name, *Il.* 2.678; see also 5.202 ἱππῶν φειδόμενος. For more on this name and ‘noms irrationnels’, see Masson 1995 707 and Morpurgo Davies 2000 18–19. For the passage in Aristophanes, see Sommerstein 1982 162–163. For differences between personal names and lexical items, see Kuryłowicz 1960 and Morpurgo Davies 2000 15–19. The examples in Cooley 2012 288–290 might be used as evidence of awareness of the meaning of names.

⁴⁸ For numeral *praenomina*, see Petersen 1962 and Salomies 1987 113–114. Kosename and hypocoristics (Evans 1972 425–426, Kuryłowicz 1960 367–369, O’Brien 1973 220–221, Russell 2001, Schmitt 1995b) distinguish personal names from toponyms and are often meaningless. The terminology (Kurznamen, Kosename, hypocoristics, etc.) is frustratingly inconsistent and vague, see Hartmann 2002 for a complaint, though I am not convinced by her solution.

⁴⁹ E.g. *Lucillus Lucciani* (*Tab. Sulis* 30.6); *Barrivendi filius* (*sic*) *Vendubari* (Macalister 1945 no. 368).

⁵⁰ Kajanto 1968 518 also argues that geographical names, such as *Gallus* or *Numida*, which are not etymologically Latin, count as such.

Finally, even if with care we can assign an etymological or a perceived origin to names, this cannot be equated directly to the ethnicity of the named individual.⁵¹ Adoption strategies may be impossible to recover, and changes in nomenclature are easily masked if earlier phases are unavailable. Even when changes are visible, we may not interpret these appropriately. Häussler's stance that Latin names merely enlarged the onomastic repertoire in areas such as *Gallia Narbonensis*, and did not function as a cultural statement, is unlikely to gain much acceptance in the light of contextual information, but is a reminder of our restricted access to the intentionality of naming.⁵²

5.3.2 Naming formulae and filiation

An analysis of naming formulae may also offer insights into the identity and cultural background of the bearers of names, particularly if contextualized. For languages in contact with Latin, for example, the various formulae adopted and the names used within them are significant.⁵³ Hatt (1951) provides statistics for the proportion of single, *duo* and *tria nomina* formulae found throughout Gaul and *Germania* and considers how formulae in certain regions were adapted to suit the local experience of naming formulae.⁵⁴ Filiation by patronymic genitive or patronymic adjective, with or without Latin filiation marker, may also be useful in analysis of cultural contacts.⁵⁵ We must not take the evidence at face value, however. To what extent does a change in system from a filial system (e.g. Celtic) to a gentilicial system (e.g. Latin), for example, involve a reconceptualization of social patterns? We could propose a range of options that might differ between communities and even individuals: at one end of the scale wholesale acceptance of the new formulae and cultural change, at the other a superficial adoption of formulae only for inscriptions. In between might have been negotiations where Latin forms were taken on, but in specifically Celtic ways which are now invisible. We might even view the use of Celtic names in Latin formulae not as incomplete 'Romanization', but as evidence that the Roman form had been nativized to the extent that Celtic names were comfortably integrated. Even when naming practices are identified accurately, their interpretation remains extremely difficult.

⁵¹ See Bats 2003a 372–373, 2004 15. ⁵² Häussler 2002 66–67.

⁵³ See, for instance, Chastagnol 1994, Morris 1963. ⁵⁴ Hatt 1951 31–39.

⁵⁵ For the use of *υίός* for *filius*, see Adams 2003a 670–677.

5.3.3 Changes in nomenclature: processes of adopting names between communities

Adopted names, if identified, may reveal relative levels of prestige and the type of linguistic and cultural contacts. The processes behind this form of assimilation have received little attention.⁵⁶ Although names may have been adopted for particular reasons that are now irrecoverable, four main processes of adopting foreign nomenclature can be identified which reveal levels of contact which are masked by a simple analysis of Celtic versus Latin forms, as shown in the following Celtic-Latin examples.

The first process, the adoption of ‘colourless’ *cognomina*, as they are typically (and perhaps inappropriately) described, is straightforward and requires little knowledge of Roman culture and language. These are often simple adjectival *cognomina*, common amongst ‘New’ Romans, freedmen, slaves and provincials: *Aeternus*, *Civilis*, *Latinus*, *Magnus*, *Maximus*. The picture is complicated, however, as some of these *cognomina*, for instance *Magnus* and *Maximus*, began life as complimentary sobriquets amongst the nobility, reminding us that names must be contextualized.

The second method is the adoption of a similar or homophonic element or whole name, a ‘cover name’.⁵⁷ This process probably assumes a degree of contact with individuals with Latin names, but it is also possible to infer that this method of adoption was preferred by those who wished to retain an element of their indigenous identity. The names from La Graufesenque contain excellent examples.⁵⁸ Marichal notes that ‘l’intérêt d’une étude comparée des bordereaux et des estampilles est de nous laisser, parfois, entrevoir comment les indigènes ont latinisé leurs noms. Les uns ont, peut-être, choisi des noms plus ou moins homophones. [. . .] *Ingeniuus* pourrait être une adaptation d’*inigena* : “la fille”’.⁵⁹ The adoption of *Verecundus* in Gaul, discussed in detail by Lefebvre (2001), is perhaps another example of

⁵⁶ See now Mullen 2007b, also Langslow 2002 28–35. For limitations, see Christol 2006. For studies of specific languages in contact, see Kaimio 1975, Rix 1956, 1995a (Etruscan and Latin); Lejeune 1977b (Oscan, Venetic and Latin). See Delamarre 2003 347–350 for lists of Gaulish-Latin cover names and translation names.

⁵⁷ This is a relatively new term, equivalent to ‘nom d’assonance’, and based on ‘Deckname’, for details, see Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier 2001b. See KGPn 49–54 for ‘Mischbildungen’ in areas of language contact, Solin 1971 74–83 for Greek–Latin names in Rome and Weisgerber 1969 380. The term Deckname is used to refer to pseudonyms rather than cover names in Eichler 1995–6, see for instance Kühn 1995.

⁵⁸ Adams 2003a 703–710 discusses code-switching between the Celtic ending *-os* and Latin *-us* in the names of the La Graufesenque graffiti. It is striking that on the products destined for the outside world the ending *-us* is preferred, see Mullen forthcoming.

⁵⁹ Marichal 1988 94.

this, replacing the Celtic elements *ver-*⁶⁰ ‘over, above’ and *condo-*⁶¹ ‘head, sense, reason’.

Adopting foreign names by translating the native one, ‘translation names’,⁶² implies a certain level of Latin comprehension and that some Celtic speakers attached semantic value to their names. Again the graffiti of La Graufesenque provide numerous examples: ‘*Cintusmus* en *Primus* ou *Primulus*, *Allos* en *Secundus*,⁶³ *Tritos* en *Tertius*, *Petrecus* en *Quartus*, *Carilos* en *Amandus*, *Cintugenus* en *Primigenius*, *Matugenos* en *Felix*, *Uindulus* en *Albus*.’⁶⁴ It is not always clear whether the corresponding Latin and Celtic names at La Graufesenque refer to the same individual, but Marichal considers this to be demonstrably true in several cases.⁶⁵ This is not implausible, considering what we know about the format of the inscriptions and the frequency and range of names. However, rather than attempting to pinpoint individuals, it can be more easily demonstrated that the inscribing community had developed a nomenclature heavily reliant on translation names.

Socio-political factors may also determine the choice of Latin names, particularly in higher-level society. Names of emperors, patrons and famous figures are found in the inscriptions, almost exclusively in *duo* and *tria nomina* formulae. As Morris shows, in broad terms an individual’s *praenomen* and *nomen* can reveal information about their level of integration with Roman culture.⁶⁶ Timescales, local variations and preferences should be carefully verified, however, before conclusions are drawn.⁶⁷ Generally, this adoption of ‘high status’ Latin names suggests contact with Roman environments, such as the client system, the military and officialdom.

The four different mechanisms for the adoption of names, coupled with the information on naming formulae and the content of the inscriptions, are invaluable for assessing cultural contacts through the epigraphic

⁶⁰ See Delamarre 2003 314, *GPN* 279–280, *KGPN* 290–292.

⁶¹ See Delamarre 2003 124, *GPN* 337, *KGPN* 182–183.

⁶² I use the term ‘translation name’ (Mullen 2007b), based on the German and French terms: ‘Übersetzungsname’ / ‘nom de traduction’. See Kalwerckämper 1996, Weisgerber 1968 132. See Van Minnen 1986 for Greek translation names of Egyptian names and Solin 1971 83–84 for Latin–Greek translation names in Rome.

⁶³ Dondin-Payre 2001 examines *Secundus* and its derivatives in Gaul and *Germania*, and argues that an analysis of the derivatives can refine the discussion of integration.

⁶⁴ Marichal 1988 94. *Secundus* could also be a translation of *Matugenus*. ⁶⁵ Marichal 1988 94.

⁶⁶ E.g. *T. Claudius* and *C. Iulius* were often used by eminent families; *T. Flavius*, *Ulpus* and *Aelius* are common Imperial *nomina* in the Rhine and Danube areas (*Aelius* also becoming popular in the East); *M. Aurelius* after AD 212 carried little prestige, see Morris 1963 37–38.

⁶⁷ ‘No adequate study of the spread of Imperial *nomina* has yet been undertaken’ Morris 1963 38. This remains the case.

record. Methods two and three are particularly expressive: ‘les mécanismes d’adoption des nomenclatures en adaptant au latin les héritages propres, en choisissant dans le latin les éléments jugés signifiants au sens de l’identité locale comme au sens du prestige, sont d’excellents révélateurs des mentalités dans la relative liberté qu’autorisait une romanisation à l’aune du droit latin.’⁶⁸

A further phenomenon of language contact in naming practices is the occurrence of *hybrid names*. These can be distinguished from *mixed names* which are relatively common and designate the use of names from different linguistic groups within one formula, e.g. *Sext(us)* [Latin] *Iul(ius)* [Latin] *Lu(t)to* [Celtic] (IAG 12). Mixed names are commonly attested in the Roman Empire in the *duo* and *tria nomina* formulae, and many mixed Latin–Celtic and Latin–Greek formulae have been recorded,⁶⁹ though Greek–Celtic mixed names are rare (see §8.3.3). Hybrid names, conversely, are less common and involve the use of elements from more than one language within a single name.⁷⁰ This form of negotiation has been found with Gaulish–Latin contact, for instance, in the Larzac tablets (RIG II.2 L-98), where we find the hybrid name *Tertionigna*, which contains a Latin stem and Gaulish suffix, and possibly the analogous *Rufigna*, though this has also been read *Rufena* (E is noted with double I in this tablet and the two strokes could be taken as either IC or II). It has also been traced in the creation of names in -ιανός (Latin suffix) attached to elements of Greek and non-Greek origin in Greek inscriptions from parts of Asia Minor, for example Πολεμωνιανός, Βαρβαριανός.⁷¹ Hybrid names are much rarer in Greek–Celtic contact situations (see §8.3.3). Both mixed names and hybrid names show evidence of linguistic contact, and perhaps indicate a willingness to integrate elements of a contact culture whilst retaining aspects of the native culture. Hybrid names perhaps reveal a particularly close combination of two cultures, but it is unwise to overgeneralize.

Resistance to change and conservatism in naming practices are also important and the emphasis should not always be on adoption. Almost all Celtic-speaking communities were unreceptive to Greek forms and some retained high levels of indigenous nomenclature and avoided assimilation to Latin formulae. Low ethnolinguistic vitality (§2.3.1), which can result

⁶⁸ Raepsaet-Charlier 2001 469.

⁶⁹ See Kajanto 1968 3–5. Mixed names are common with many other combinations of languages, see Hall 2002 101 for mixed Greek–Carian names.

⁷⁰ See Filos 2010 for a discussion of Greek–Latin hybrid compounds in Greek papyri (not including names).

⁷¹ See Corsten 2010.

in language shift and death, can be linked to changes in naming practices. However, the specificity of names within language and their close association with identity mean that names can be considerably more conservative or innovative than language, and must be considered in their own right, as we shall see in the case study below.

5.4 *Gallia Graeca*: onomastics, identity and the Ionic hypothesis

One of the few claims made about the linguistic composition of Southern Gaul suggests that the Greek spoken was conservative and Ionic even into the Hellenistic period: ‘Marseille, cité si isolée, très loin en Occident, paraît en effet avoir été un authentique conservatoire linguistique’;⁷² Ionic ‘continuait à être parlé et écrit, alors que depuis longtemps déjà il avait partout fait place à la “langue commune”’.⁷³ This claim is bolstered by the presumed strong Ionic identity of the colonists, Marseille’s ‘situation marginale’⁷⁴ and ancient testimonies which emphasize its conservative constitution and nature.⁷⁵ Now that a *corpus* of texts is available (*IGF* and *Appendix 2*), the opportunity arises for reconsideration. It seems that the argument that ‘l’onomastique de Massalia présente un caractère ionien et conservateur’⁷⁶ has been incautiously extended to the language.

Robert was the first to discuss specifically the continuation between the nomenclature of *metropoleis* and their colonies, and Phokaian examples are regularly used to support this hypothesis.⁷⁷ Indeed, though caution is required,⁷⁸ the geographical specificity of certain Greek names can be traced, and names based on local river names are more reliable than most (*Table 10*).⁷⁹ The distinctive nomenclature of Phokaia and its colonies

⁷² Bresson 1997 499. This is also the implication of Bizot *et al.* 2007 84, Hermary, Hesnard and Tréziny 1999 93, 113. Benoît 1965 23 supports the view espoused here.

⁷³ Clerc 1927 459. ⁷⁴ Bresson 1997 499; for the opposite view, see §8.3.5.

⁷⁵ The bibliography associated with Marseille is huge. The most significant recent work is undoubtedly CAG 13/3 in which an extensive bibliography may be found. Other wide-ranging texts include Arcelin *et al.* 1995, Bats 1990b, 1992a, Bats and Tréziny 1986, Bizot *et al.* 2007, Clerc 1927, 1929, Clavel-Lévêque 1977, Hermary and Tréziny 2000a, Hermary, Hesnard and Tréziny 1999, Morel 1999, Properzio 1982, Salviat 1973, Tréziny 1994, 2006a, Villard 1960.

⁷⁶ Robert 1968 203. ⁷⁷ See Robert 1938 199–201, 1963 521–536, McLean 2002 89–90.

⁷⁸ McLean 2002 87–89, one instance where the origin of the name may be misleading is the adoption of names through guest friendship (2002 88). See Herman 1990 for the diffusion of names through *xenia* and intermarriage.

⁷⁹ McLean 2002 88–89.

Table 10 ‘Phokaian’ nomenclature based on river names

River name	Personal name	Reference
<i>Hermos</i> ^a	Ἑρμων	Scholia to Lucan III.524, <i>Phokaia</i> 20
	Ἑρμιππος	<i>MG</i> 65 (Aristaion)
	Ἑρμόθεμις	<i>MG</i> 56, 240
	Ἑρμόκρατος	<i>Phokaia</i> 14–18
	Ἑρμόκριτος	<i>IGF</i> 13 (Marseille)
	Ἑρμόσ[τρα]τος	<i>MG</i> 104
	Ἑρμότιμος	Plutarch <i>Per.</i> 24, Aelian <i>VH</i> 12.1
	Ἑρμόχαρις	<i>MG</i> 83, 84, 105, 128, 215
	Διονύσερμος	<i>MG</i> 80
	Ποσεί(/ή)δερμος	<i>Lindos</i> II 184, <i>BE</i> 1965 507 (Lilybaeum), <i>MG</i> 209, 211
	Πύθερμος	Hdt. 1.152
	Φίλερμος	<i>IG</i> XI,4 652 (Delos)
<i>Kaikos</i>	Καῖκος	<i>SIG</i> ³ 585 (Delphi)
<i>Xanthos</i>	<i>Xsanthermus</i> ^b	<i>CIL</i> XII 4487 (Narbonne)
<i>Kaustrios</i>	Καῦστριος	Curbera 1997 I (Emporion)

^a Ἑρμογένης cited at Hermary and Tréziny 2000b 155 is on an object imported from Smyrna.

^b See Clerc 1929 303, Gayraud 1981 548, Rémy 1984 128–129, Salviat 1969.

evokes the rivers of Asia Minor.⁸⁰ For instance, we might consider the *Hermos* names which are mostly attested in Ionian areas. A link to the deity Hermes cannot be excluded, but a connection with the river *Hermos* is likely in several cases,⁸¹ especially in composite names based on river names, e.g. Ἑρμοκάϊκος (Curbera 1997 II (Emporion)). Interestingly, the naming practices did not escape the analytical gaze of Aristotle who mentions Ἑρμοκαϊκόξανθος as an example of a Massaliote compound name.⁸²

Other names, for example, Κρινᾶς (*IGUR* II 820 (Rome), *SIG*³ 585 (Delphi), *BCH* 1921 1 (Delphi), *Crinas Massiliensis* Plin. *N.H.* 29.5.9)⁸³ and Οὔλις appear to be specifically Phokaian or perhaps Massaliote.⁸⁴ Further to these distinctive names, we find a stock of more common Ionic names throughout the colonies, including Μεγιστήρ, and Ionic variations of widespread names such as Κλεύδημος for Κλεόδημος (*IGF* 15). These

⁸⁰ Masson 1985, Robert 1966 221–222, 1968 213. Several of these instances are of ‘Phokaians abroad’, see Manganaro 1992. On the importance of external documentation, see Robert 1968 199, 210.

⁸¹ Masson 1985 20, McLean 2002 88 note 72, Robert 1968 213.

⁸² *Po.* 1457a–b. See Masson 1985. ⁸³ Though not Κρινίως as McLean 2002 89 suggests.

⁸⁴ See Morel 2000b, 2006 [2009] 1776–1780. Masson 1988 discusses the Ionic cult of *Apollo Oulios* in the light of the evidence from personal names.

Phokaian and Ionic names are not just found in the period immediately after the colonization by the Phokaians, but continue to appear in the colonies during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as demonstrated most clearly by the Greek names in the graffiti from the Aristaion (§8.3.3). This suggests continuing affinity with Phokaia, despite the distance, which is the largest between any Greek colony and its *metropolis* (§8.3.5).

The Greek epigraphic record (*IGF* and *Appendix 2*) is not sufficient to extend the claim of Ionic and conservative tendencies in the Hellenistic period onwards from the names to the language of Southern Gaul more generally. Despite this, assertions are commonly found repeated in the scholarly literature that the Greek language of Southern Gaul was Ionic, without any suggestion that the claim could be questioned. In support of the traditional view, the lack of evidence could be softened by the argument that the majority of the epigraphic evidence does not offer diagnostic features, or that epigraphic remains cannot be directly equated to vernacular varieties. But these arguments are not proffered; rather the Ionic claim is repeatedly stated, misleading readers into thinking that this represents a well-established, evidence-based fact.

It is important to remind ourselves of the limits of our knowledge as regards Greek dialectology.⁸⁵ We do not fully comprehend how the Greek ‘dialects’ are interrelated and cannot describe them comprehensively with certainty.⁸⁶ In particular, the dialects Attic and Ionic, which we know comparatively very well, are closely related and the Koine is, in very crude terms, a simplified form of Ionic with Attic features.⁸⁷ It is difficult, therefore, to

⁸⁵ For important discussions of Greek dialects since the 1950s, see, for example, Adrados 2005, Bakker 2010, Buck 1955, Christidis 2007, Coleman 1963, Colvin 2007, Georgakopoulou and Silk 2009, Horrocks 2010, Palmer 1980, Risch 1955.

⁸⁶ δῖαλεκτος in ancient Greek had a range of meanings, including discourse, debate, speech, style, language and dialect. Whilst modern definitions of ‘dialect’ and ‘language’ are notoriously difficult to pin down (as we saw in §1.5.2), language is perhaps best described as ‘any variety of speech considered by its speakers to be a distinct language’, with dialect defined as ‘a set of idiolects that share a significant set of linguistic and other features (region, class, gender etc)’ and which can be analysed as sub-categories of a language. Often dialects are deemed mutually intelligible and languages are not, though exceptions abound. Generally speaking, in the modern world, languages have a standard variety, to which dialects, which normally have lower prestige, relate. In the case of the Greek dialects in the pre-Koine period, there is no real ‘standard language’ to which they can be related, some of them may have been mutually incomprehensible and they have significant levels of prestige as literary languages and/or vehicles of local identity; on modern definitions the Greek dialects should therefore perhaps be regarded as languages. For the Greeks on dialectology, see Hainsworth 1967 and Morpurgo Davies 2002. For Greek ethnicity and the Greek language, see Anson 2009.

⁸⁷ For Attic, Ionic and the Koine, see the handbooks listed above (n. 85) for description and bibliography. For Attic inscriptions, Threatte (1980, 1996a) should be consulted. For Ionic inscriptions, see below for bibliography. For the Koine, important publications of the last few

be absolutely sure which features are diagnostic and with which linguistic entity we might be dealing. The process of koineization was a lengthy one, and in many respects a simplistic dialect/Koine dichotomy is unhelpful, particularly since in some areas distinctive markers of the dialects were retained (either deliberately or not) within the Koine.⁸⁸ The Koine itself would have presented diachronic, diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic variation and, in general, the process of abstraction of linguistic entities from the realities of dialectal continua is by no means straightforward (§1.5.2).

Discussions of language in Southern Gaul abstract Ionic into a broad and neat linguistic entity, overlooking the debate on the subdivision of East Ionic and the influence of Aeolic in a possible North-eastern Ionic group including Phokaia. Interest in these dialectal groupings started with Herodotus (1.142) and the first modern discussion of Aeolisms in Ionic was of those attributed to Phokaia.⁸⁹ The research still has far to go (some recent work has been scathingly reviewed)⁹⁰ and, indeed, it is not clear that the material will ever be sufficient to describe accurately dialectal regions,⁹¹ but pre-fourth-century inscriptions from Southern Gaul may be highly relevant. One letter from Emporion (*SEG* 37 838)⁹² contains Aeolisms which have been well established (e.g. Ἐμππορίταισιν – Aeolic dative plural ending,⁹³ ᾧσι – Aeolic third person plural present subjunctive), and features of both the Emporion material and the Pech Maho lead can be specifically assigned to East Ionic (e.g. ὁκόσο (*SEG* 37 838), ᾧκο (Almagro Basch 1952 no. 21), ᾧκο (*IGF* 135)).⁹⁴ However, these instances do not alter the main argument here, namely that there is no clear evidence that the Greek of the Phokaian colonies remained Ionic in the Hellenistic period, as they are dated from the sixth to the fourth centuries.

decades include the five conference volumes entitled *La Koiné grecque antique* (Brixhe 1993, 1996, 1998, Hodot 2001, 2004), Gignac 1976, 1981 and Mandilaras 1973.

⁸⁸ Our knowledge of the Koine (and its variants) continues to develop with intricate research focusing most notably on the ever-growing finds of Hellenistic and later papyri, but there is a long way to go before we can present a detailed picture of the nature of the Koine.

⁸⁹ Solmsen 1897 554–558.

⁹⁰ For instance, Stüber 1996, reviewed López Eire 1998; Garbrah 1978, reviewed *REG* 1985 278–279.

⁹¹ See Slings 1994 117.

⁹² This letter was found in 1985, see Sanmartí and Santiago 1987, 1988, Santiago 1990a, Santiago and Sanmartí 1988, Slings 1994. Another, very fragmentary, fifth- or fourth-century lead letter was found in 1987. It appears to be commercial in content and Ionic in dialect, see Santiago 1990b and Santiago and Sanmartí 1989.

⁹³ The gemination is deemed to be East Ionic, though whether the feature is in origin Ionic or Aeolic is debatable.

⁹⁴ See Hualde Pascual 1997, Lejeune, Pouilloux and Solier 1988, Santiago 1993.

One text from the Hellenistic period cited as having distinctive Ionic flavour is the third-century lead letter from the dockyards of Massalia (*IGF* 4).⁹⁵

A Λευκῶνι
 B1 Μεγιστῆς Λευκῶνι χαῖρειν· εἰ, ὑγιαίνεις, καλῶς ποεῖς·
 2 ὑγιαίνομεν δὲ κ[α]ὶ ἡμεῖς. Οὕλις μοι ἐνέτυχεν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 3 ἀνκύρης ἄξιῶν ζητεῖν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ὅπως ἂν λυθῇη·
 4 ὁ χρόνος· ἔσ(τ)ω ὁ Ἀπατουρίων· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη προσ Τ 1 l. ICE 1–2 l. CA
 A T I A (?) EIG EIN GP (?) 3 l. ATALL 1 l. T 1 l. – T 1–2 l. l- · εὐτύχει.

Of the names, Λευκῶν is relatively evenly spread across the Greek world (it also appears in *IGF* 20 (Marseille)), but Μεγιστῆς is an Ionic name and Οὕλις has Phokaian flavour (see above and the discussion of the Aristaion (§8.3.3)) and Ἀπατουρίων is an Ionic month name.⁹⁶ The linguistic affiliation of the inscription, however, is not straightforward. The form ἀνκύρης (genitive singular) (ἀγκύρας would be the Koine form) shows νκ for γκ, a common orthographical ‘error’, and the inflectional ending is Ionic. We also find ὅπως ἂν (plus an optative verb), the Attic particle rather than the Koine (ὅπως) or Ionic (ὅκως) equivalents, as we might expect. This particle is used especially in early and conservative texts, alternatives (ὥς ἂν, ὅπως) are used in Thucydides and Attic inscriptions from the late fifth century.⁹⁷ This therefore seems to be a consciously Atticizing element in the inscription, and the verbal form ποεῖς for ποιεῖς might also be an Attic feature.⁹⁸ Leaving aside personal names, which we have argued are irrelevant for this matter, the language displays one Ionic and two Attic features.⁹⁹ These diagnostic features do not point towards one particular dialect and we could more sensibly assign them to the linguistic diversity of the Mediterranean trading environment and effects of non-systematic regional diversity.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, the trader Μεγιστῆς need not be a Massaliote at all.

Another often-cited ‘Ionic-language’ text is a Massaliote altar of uncertain date (*IGF* 5), but probably dating to the Imperial period (§4.2.1). This text

⁹⁵ For the archaeological context, see *CAG* 13/3 57*.

⁹⁶ See Salviat 1992 145, Samuel 1972. ⁹⁷ See Horrocks 2010 74.

⁹⁸ See Threatch 1980 326–330. The loss of iota in this verb also occurs in the Koine, though ‘almost exclusively before η’ (Gignac 1976 199).

⁹⁹ Another feature, the use of ὑπὲρ in the phrase ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνκύρης where we might expect περὶ (cf. *IGF* 71), cannot be put down to any dialect, but may be motivated by the fact that the preceding ἐντυγχάνω can take either ὑπὲρ or περὶ for interceding on behalf of someone, and the author may have assumed these prepositions were interchangeable with this verb whatever the context (Patrick James p.c.).

¹⁰⁰ This kind of blending of dialectal features occurs in other areas, as the attestations of ὅπως ἂν in the Ptolemaic papyri indicate, see Mayer 1926 247–258.

also refers to the typically Ionic festival of *Apatouria* (Hdt. 1.147), via its god Ζηνὸς Πατρῶου (genitive), though no linguistic features specifically demonstrate the use of spoken Ionic.

Ζηνὸς Πατρῶου
Κασινήτων [τῶν] περὶ Λυκὴν
τὸν Πυθοκρίτου

Κασινήτων has elicited much debate.¹⁰¹ Κασίγνητος exists in both Arcado-Cypriot and Aeolic and the form, with loss of gamma, is paralleled in Cyprus (τᾷ κασινήται, *ICS* 153); as a result the Massaliote form has been assigned ‘un des plus anciens traits du dialecte ionien de Phocée, influencé par l’éolien’.¹⁰² However, the form is also found in Homer, Herodotus and metrical inscriptions throughout the history of Greek epigraphy and it therefore seems unwise to assign this as a dialectal feature so unquestioningly.¹⁰³ Although attested in East Ionic, Ζηνός is also not necessarily diagnostic since it too might have been deemed poetic.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, though –ιν- to –iv- (γίνομαι for γίγνομαι) can be assigned to Ionic, it is also a Koine feature.¹⁰⁵ The possibly Ionic features of this text may have been deliberately chosen as suited for a dedication with poetic pretensions (there is a hint of hexameter here) and, at any rate, at this late date we might need to consider the possibility of deliberate archaism, rather than the reflection of any spoken varieties.

The vast majority of the material in *IGF* and *Appendix 2* from the Hellenistic period does not provide secure diagnostic information to make decisions as to the dialectal variety of Greek employed. The most promising set of material, the graffiti from the sanctuary of Aristaios and also the nearby Greek colony Olbia, is still not available in a suitable form for detailed linguistic analysis, as we shall see in §8.3. However, the material from the Aristaion presented in preliminary studies indicates that a straightforward characterization of the graffiti as Ionic will not be possible. Diagnostic features are few and far between. The form κρητ[ηρ] (*MG* 191), though fragmentary and therefore insecure, may be evidence for Ionic. The forms for ‘son’, υῶς, however, will be shown in §8.3.2 to be distinctively Attic. The verbs ἀναιτιθεῖ and ἀποδιδόι cannot be assigned automatically to Ionic as a

¹⁰¹ See Bresson 1997, Ghiron-Bistagne 1992, *IGF* page 12.

¹⁰² Bresson 1997 498–499. ¹⁰³ For the data, see Bresson 1997 497–499.

¹⁰⁴ It also occurs in Coan, Thera, Cretan and Elean (West Greek varieties, see Buck 1955 93–94, Sihler 1995 337–338), though no other West Greek features are to be found in this text, so West Greek influence is unlikely.

¹⁰⁵ Other late texts displaying Ionic features do so in the context of the convention that Ionic is most appropriate for hexameter and elegy (e.g. εὔσεβιν, ὀρφανίη, *IGF* 9; εὔσεβίη, *IGF* 10).

great deal of confusion arises in the Koine over the conjugation of -μι verbs, indeed the form ἀνατίθησι also occurs in the graffiti.¹⁰⁶ So far, the evidence is too meagre to talk of an Ionic language of the graffiti at the Aristaion; we must await the full publication of the texts before we can make any strong assertions on the matter.

Whilst it is fair to state that ‘l’anthroponymie de Massalia a conservé tenacement le caractère ionien de ses origines’,¹⁰⁷ it is not acceptable, at least on our current evidence, to extrapolate from this that the Greek of Southern Gaul also retained Ionic traits into the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, recent work by De Hoz has demonstrated that the Western Greeks spoke Koine during this period, and followed the developments in language and script produced elsewhere in the Greek world, exactly as the vision of connectivity promoted here would predict.¹⁰⁹ We have seen from the preceding discussion the complexity of onomastics, and, just as names can never be directly equated with ethnicity, nor can they with language: ‘a “Namegebiet”, however well conceived or established, is different from a “Sprachgebiet”’.¹¹⁰ Personal names cannot be used to characterize the language of communities.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ See Gignac 1981 380–384. ¹⁰⁷ Robert 1966 221.

¹⁰⁸ Indeed, the fragmentary evidence makes it difficult to demonstrate for certain that the language even of the early period was Ionic.

¹⁰⁹ See De Hoz 1998, 2006 348. ¹¹⁰ Evans 1979a 521. ¹¹¹ See Morpurgo Davies 2000.

PART II

Multilingualism and multiple identities
in Southern Gaul

6 | *Gallia in Graeciam translata?* Investigating Gaulish–Greek linguistic contacts

6.1 *Gallia in Graeciam translata?*

The first-century Vocontian historian, Pompeius Trogus, is famously reported to have asserted that Southern Gaul had not simply been colonized by the Greeks but had actually become Greek:¹

ab his igitur Galli et usum uitae cultioris deposita ac mansuefacta barbaria et agrorum cultus et urbes moenibus cingere didicerunt; tunc et legibus, non armis uiuere, tunc uitem putare, tunc oliuam serere consuerunt, adeoque magnus et hominibus et rebus inpositus est nitor, ut non Graeci in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Graeciam translata uideretur. (Just. 43.4.1–2)

Therefore, the Gauls learned a more civilized way of life from them [the Massaliotes] and rejected and toned down their uncivilized behaviour; they were taught to cultivate their lands and to build walls round their cities. Then they became used to living according to laws, and not by war, to pruning vines and growing olives, and such brilliance was attached to the men and their activities, that it seemed that the Greeks had not emigrated to Gaul, but that Gaul had been turned into Greece.

This ancient interest in contacts between the colonial Greeks and indigenous populations, and in the attendant processes of transformation, is reflected in modern scholarship and continues to intrigue and perplex.² The present chapter brings new evidence and a new perspective to the debate. Alongside the Gaulish inscriptional evidence, the recently published edition of the Greek inscriptions from France (*IGF*) and a database produced for this book (*Appendix 2*) complement the traditional resources. The time period covers the foundation of Marseille to the Augustan era and the decline of written Gaulish in the region. The analysis of the inscriptional material will follow the lines of enquiry set out in Chapters 1–5 and addresses the following questions. How fair is Pompeius Trogus’s *Gallia in Graeciam translata*? How far does Greek influence extend beyond the coastal colonies (§6.4)? How much interaction occurs between Greek and the indigenous

¹ Pompeius Trogus’s work is known through Junianus Justinus, see Alonso-Núñez 1994.

² See Dietler 2010 2–3.

language(s) and do contact varieties of Greek or Gaulish exist in the epigraphic record (§6.5)? Should we look to other possible sources of contact induced change (§7)?

6.2 The evidence in *IGF*

In contrast to the Gaulish inscriptions which have elicited considerable interest, particularly since the publication of a comprehensive edition of Gallo-Greek (*RIG I*),³ relatively little attention has been afforded to the Greek inscriptions of Gaul. The publication of Decourt's *IGF* in 2004 marked the beginning of an important new phase in the study of Greek inscriptional evidence from ancient France. Superseding the long-outdated *CIG* and *IG*, *IGF* facilitates the study of the linguistic and cultural history of Gaul. However, *IGF* presents only a selection of inscriptional evidence and it is necessary to review its scope and nature, before the new database (*Appendix 2*) can be presented.

6.2.1 General considerations

IGF includes inscriptions 'retrouvées (ou) gravées en France',⁴ as defined by the modern state boundaries.⁵ Both advantages and disadvantages arise from these geographical parameters, which differ from those created following ancient provinces by the Berlin Academy. The internal geographical classification of *IGF*, which is based on find-spots where possible, follows Augustan provincial borders.⁶

Certain genres of material are excluded from the collection. As a general rule the volumes of *IG*, unlike *CIL*, do not include *instrumenta domestica*, and the study of the ancient Greek world lags behind the Roman in this respect.⁷ Coins, stamps, lamps and jewellery are excluded from *IGF*, as they

³ *RIG* has been updated regularly in *Études Celtiques*. Despite Lambert's reminder of the importance of assembling graffiti in this way, it is clear that many are left unpublished or scattered in archaeological publications, e.g. Bats 2004 refers to several unpublished graffiti. The sporadic, tardy and lacunose publication of epigraphy continues and the use of small, regional publications frustrates, and is particularly prevalent in areas such as France and Italy, where the material is abundant. Editions would benefit from the example set by *RIB II* in the publication of all known non-lapidary inscriptions from Britain, and the systematic and centralized system of collecting and publishing new material in *Britannia*. Furthermore, the progress made in Spain, with the *MLH* series, the revision of *CIL II* and the regular updates in *Hispania Epigraphica*, provides a model for the documentation of complex and rich epigraphic records.

⁴ *IGF* page vii. See also Decourt 2007 for details of the content of *IGF*.

⁵ See *IGF* page iv. ⁶ See *IGF* page x.

⁷ In recent years the significance of the *instrumenta domestica* in the analysis of the Roman world has been recognized, see De Hoz 2006 349. As new editions are produced, each chooses its own

are often published in specialist volumes.⁸ However, the number of Greek inscriptions within these volumes is low compared to the Latin and their inclusion in *IGF* would have been beneficial. In particular, the exclusion of ‘graffiti’ disadvantages scholars who wish to perform the analysis outlined in Chapters 1–5. The reasons stated for the exclusion include the difficulties in producing any commentary for the graffiti, as often even the language involved is controversial (see §§6.2.2, 6.3.2), and that many of these graffiti already exist in published form. However, Decourt repeatedly demonstrates his ability to present complex argumentation on the minutiae of inscriptions and it is always helpful for scholars to have easy access to comprehensive *corpora* which collect evidence from scattered and/or out-of-date publications.

Despite the general policy of exclusion, some graffiti which involve a comprehensible series of letters and constitute more than simply a mark of property are included. Decourt anticipated criticism concerning this inconsistency: ‘Il est certain que la limite que je me suis fixée entre ce que j’ai retenu et ce que j’ai laissé de côté, très ténue, donnera lieu à contestation.’⁹ This subjective decision as to the relative worth of the inscriptions allowed the inclusion of graffiti from the sanctuary of Aristaios near Hyères (*IGF* 68) and those on *skyphoi* reading τῆς ὑγίης (*IGF* 46A1), which also contravenes Decourt’s exclusion of graffiti from wrecks, but excluded several others.

6.2.2 Linguistic considerations

Decourt faced a significant challenge in accurately identifying the language of the inscriptions. The decision generally taken by scholars in categorizing linguistically ambiguous inscriptions is that if the settlement in which they were found is deemed for archaeological and historical reasons to be ‘indigenous’ or Greek, the inscriptions will be categorized in the same way. Clearly, in an environment of contact and multilingualism, movement through trade and the military, this methodology, though sometimes the only one available, cannot be viewed as secure, and, it could be argued, obscures the very complexity this study explores. Even when linguistic categorization can be reached, it may provide little information about the

system: for Gaul, *RIG* includes graffiti, but *ILN* does not. Admittedly in the former case a major deciding factor must have been that the graffiti represent two-thirds of the material. ‘En nous restituant tous les documents, mêmes les plus lacunaires, M. Lejeune nous donne une idée plus juste de l’extension de l’écriture grecque dans cet emploi “familier”’ (Lambert 1997 43).

⁸ See, for instance, Bémont and Jacob 1986, Bertucchi 1992, Guiraud 1988, Laubenheimer 1985, Voinot 1999.

⁹ *IGF* page ix.

ethnicity of the ‘author’, but merely represents a useful starting point for analysis.

The question of linguistic affiliation affects the categorization of lapidary inscriptions, though in fewer cases than for graffiti (§6.3.2). Decourt presents a section in *IGF* containing Gallo-Greek inscriptions which had previously been identified as Greek.¹⁰ This includes an inscription which reads]ΑΕΝ[found on the edge of a stone basin from Glanum (Saint-Rémy-de-Provence) (*IGF* 170, *RIG I* G-63).¹¹ The conjecture BE]ΑΕΝ[OC was made by comparison with a similar object from Calissane dedicated to BEΛΕΙΝΟ (*RIG I* G-28).¹² The inscriptions from Glanum and Calissane had been included in *RIG*, but not in the main ‘Greek’ section of *IGF*, whereas a fragmentary stone block found at La Bourse in Marseille in 1967 reading [?]ΑΕΝ|[?]ΟΥ has been included by Decourt with the Greek inscriptions as [BE]ΑΕΝ|ΟΥ, though it is also published in *RIG* (*IGF* 6 and *RIG I* G-24). Decourt realizes the inconsistency of this decision, and rightly remains tentative in his conclusions.¹³

This Massaliote inscription illustrates the difficulties encountered in categorizing inscriptions and merits further analysis at this point. Scholarly opinion is split between an interpretation of the inscription as Gallo-Greek or Greek, and consequently whether it represents a dedication to a deity (using a Gaulish dative) or a funerary dedication (using a Greek genitive). Under the former interpretation, the most likely candidate is *Belenos*, who is commonly attested in Aquileia (North-eastern Italy) and often, though never in Gaul, forms a mixed name with Apollo.¹⁴ Of the nine instances of *Bel(l)e(i)nus* in Gaul, only one is found outside the Southern zone: at Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme, *CIL* XIII 1461).¹⁵ Lambert views the Massaliote inscription as a dedication to *Belenos* and uses it to support his

¹⁰ ‘Inscriptions gallo-grecques un temps considérées comme grecques’ (*IGF* 170–178, pages 269–274).

¹¹ See also *CAG* 13/2 324, Rolland 1958a 44–45.

¹² For dedications to *Belenos* in Eastern Narbonensis, see Lejeune 1968–9 49–72.

¹³ See the discussions, *IGF* page vi and 13.

¹⁴ For instance, in Aquileia fifty-four examples are attested, of which seven are associated with Apollo, see Bourgeois 1991 33.

¹⁵ Apart from the possible instance at Marseille cited above, the Southern examples are: Saint-Chamas (*RIG I* G-28), Glanum (G-63), Gréasque (*ILN* III 191), Pourrières (*ILGN* 34), Marseille (*CIL* XII 401), Nîmes (*CIL* XII 5693–12), Narbonne (*CIL* XII 5958). For the examples, see *CAG* 13/1 217 and *RDG* 28–29. For a discussion of the etymology of the name, see Delamarre 2003 72. Elsewhere in Gaul other epithets are associated with Apollo, for instance, *Grannus*, which appears in *Germania*, *Gallia Belgica* and the region of the *Aedui*, see *RDG* 12, 94–96 for more details of the epithets and their distribution.

proposed development of the dative singular of Gaulish thematic nouns in *-o-* (§6.5.5).¹⁶

The alternative interpretation of the inscription as Greek identifies the stele as a funerary monument, and the letters as composing a genitive anthroponym. Hermary and Tréziny suggest two possible restorations of the name: Ἐ]λένου genitive of Ἐλενος, or Κ]λεν[ί]ου genitive of Κλενίος.¹⁷ The first name, they note, is not attested in the Phokaian onomastic record,¹⁸ but considering the paucity of Phokaian inscriptions, this is not particularly significant, especially as the name is attested over eighty times in *LGN*, including twelve instances in volume Va (Coastal Asia Minor (Pontos to Ionia)). The second option is less plausible as the name is unattested in *LGN*, though Κλεινίος is, Κληνόμαχος appears at Hyele, and Κλην- is a common name element attested over seventy times, though never in Ionia. However, Hermary and Tréziny raise the important point that Greek funerary inscriptions rarely contain simply a single male name in the genitive,¹⁹ and, indeed, no other example is attested in *IGF*. Decourt tentatively prefers the Greek anthroponym interpretation, though his reasons ‘le lieu de la découverte de la pierre, la ville même de Marseille, et la date, si l’on s’appuie sur la gravure’ are unconvincing.²⁰ In fact, the shape of the letters and the form of the object find striking similarities with numerous inscriptions in *RIG*.

The archaeological context, though not absolutely absent as stated in *IGF*,²¹ does not provide assistance since the stone was found reused to the north of the north basin.²² In support of its possible origin in a necropolis, we can note that funerary inscriptions were found reused in the proximity in Greek (*IGF* 13, 20) and Latin (*CAG* 13/3 207, Rougemont 1968–70 no. 4). On the other hand, the hypothesis of a dedication to a god is also supported by the context: ‘on peut supposer à l’entrée de la ville grecque, une ancienne implantation extra muros de cultes indigènes’,²³ and a cultic inscription in Latin to the *Matribus* was found on an altar nearby in the ancient port (Rougemont 1968–70 no. 6). In addition, a Latin inscription found at Marseille (*CIL* XII 401), which is probably dedicated to *Bellinus* (*Belli[no] T. Atil. Se[ruat]us VSLM*), may indicate the continuation of the cult into the Roman period.

¹⁶ Lambert 2003a 53. ¹⁷ See Hermary and Tréziny 2000b 147–148.

¹⁸ See Hermary and Tréziny 2000b 147–148. ¹⁹ See Hermary and Tréziny 2000b 148.

²⁰ *IGF* page 13. ²¹ ‘En l’absence de tout contexte archéologique’ (*IGF* page 13).

²² For the find-spot, see Hermary and Tréziny 2000b 147 note 7. ²³ *RIG* I page 50.

In the absence of definitive arguments for either the Greek or the Gallo-Greek interpretation, the analysis of this inscription must remain inconclusive. The inclusion of the stone in both *RIG* and *IGF* reflects the good sense of the editors, and any use of this inscription in syntheses must reflect the complexity. Broad ethnic descriptions of settlements in which inscriptions are found should never be automatically employed to assign ambiguous inscriptions to *corpora*. The treatment of linguistically ambiguous inscriptions will be discussed again as one issue arising in the creation of the new database.

6.3 The new database (*Appendix 2*)

Answering questions about the penetration of Greek outside the colonies and the type of Greek spoken in Southern Gaul requires an analysis of the full range of the epigraphic record, not simply the lapidary and other selected inscriptions included in *IGF*. This section presents a new database of additional material, namely Greek inscriptions of all genres found within the boundaries of modern France, which have, for the most part, been published, though not in the main *corpora* (*IGF*, *IG*). The database must not be viewed as exhaustive, but, alongside the material assembled in *IGF*, and with the considerations below taken into account, it offers a more complete picture of the inscriptional record than *IGF* alone can provide, and a more secure basis from which conclusions about the nature, use and spread of epigraphy and language may be drawn.

6.3.1 General considerations

The ‘List of Greek inscriptions of France not included in *IGF*’ (*Appendix 2*) is the result of collaboration. In 2007, Professor Decourt generously allowed me access to his paper database (*IGG*) in Lyon, which contains the bibliography assembled for the inscriptions in *IGF* and, in addition, supplementary inscriptions, which had also been assigned an ‘*IGG* number’, as had the inscriptions included in *IGF*.²⁴ Twenty of these supplementary inscriptions (1–20) were suitable for inclusion in *Appendix 2*. Decourt’s database included their *IGG* code, the find-spot, the bibliography, the reason for exclusion from *IGF* and the current location. I added information to the

²⁴ Decourt makes reference to this database at *IGF* page xi. The complete concordance of *IGG* and *IGF* numbers can be found on *IGF* pages 321–322.

new list: the *département*, the type of inscription, the date (often as reported in *SEG*), and extra bibliography. The partial information concerning current locations was removed. Furthermore, another sixty-nine entries have been added to the original twenty from the *IGG* database (21–90).

In selecting which inscriptions to include in *Appendix 2*, importation had to be considered. Decourt had encountered difficulties in deciding for *IGF* where the boundaries should be drawn in the case of inscriptions of doubtful origins, inscriptions that had resided for a period of time in France or had developed a significance for the history of the region: ‘une telle politique est d’application parfois délicate’.²⁵ Naturally, this issue is particularly problematic in the case of portable *instrumenta domestica*, and in many cases it may be impossible to assign origins. It was deemed sensible to err on the side of over-inclusion in creating *Appendix 2*, and to leave possible imports in, but shaded. Those with specialist knowledge of certain items may want to argue for their removal from the list.

In assembling the database we were reminded of the inaccessibility of a potentially large percentage of finds. Even if all published material, including regionally specific publications, were scrutinized to find anything not republished by bulletins such as *SEG* and *BE*, exhaustive coverage would still be unobtainable. First, particularly on older archaeological sites, non-lapidary inscriptions may never have been identified, or, if identified, may have been subsequently undocumented and lost. Second, a lack of money, time or collaboration sometimes prevents the dissemination of material. The assumption has to be made that information concerning the discovery of any large cache of inscriptions, such as the graffiti from the sanctuary of Aristaios, should, eventually, reach the scholarly community (§8.3). It is therefore unlikely that any finds of hundreds of inscriptions are missing from *Appendix 2*. This list should nevertheless be seen as an indication of the nature of the Greek material not published in *IGF*, rather than a complete *corpus* in any sense. Despite its shortcomings, it is included to support the discussion presented here and to provide scholars with bibliography and orientation for future research.

6.3.2 Linguistic considerations

It is often even more difficult to assign linguistic labels to inscriptions on *instrumenta domestica* than on lapidary material. Clearly, in the case of Greek

²⁵ *IGF* page vii. The difficulties are made particularly clear in the commentary of the famous galet d’Antibes (*IGF* 84) and in the inclusion of inscriptions of foreign origin, e.g. *IGF* 50.

and Gallo-Greek, the use of the same script with minor alterations creates a stumbling block when the majority of the evidence is fragmentary and often restricted to three letters or fewer.²⁶ The graffiti from Roanne (*Appendix* 2 no. 3) were not included in *IGF*, presumably due to the genre of the material and uncertainty over linguistic classification. Though from outside Southern Gaul, they are discussed here as illustrative of the challenges posed for the linguistic analysis. Indeed, these inscriptions have rarely been treated, although they raise important questions regarding the spread of Greek and the nature of the settlement, ancient Rodumna, 60 kilometres north-west of Lyon.

Archaeologists date the remains mostly from the end of the second century BC to the beginning of the third AD, and have uncovered evidence for development from a ‘village gaulois’ to a Gallo-Roman settlement.²⁷ Approximately thirty-six graffiti in Roman script were uncovered from several sites, though most were found on the building site of the Institution St-Joseph.²⁸ Unfortunately, a number of these cannot be assigned linguistically to either Gaulish (Gallo-Latin) or Latin as many are abbreviated names (e.g. *CONE*, *ORCI*, *VERI*, *INN*, *SCA*, *VEN*, *VRA*, *VXS*) and when morphology is available, it is often of ambiguous origin (e.g. *CELTICA*).²⁹

Lejeune presents the linguistically ambiguous graffiti in Greek script from Roanne, all of which were found on the aforementioned building site (*RIG* I G-228–234). These will be briefly examined here to illustrate the complexity of the issue.

(1) KAI[/ KAK[

This inscription on a fragment of indigenous grey ware has been read KAI by both Lejeune and Guichard, who interpret the letters as the beginning of a Gaulish name in *Cai*-.³⁰ Lejeune refers only to Holder to support this suggestion (whose over-inclusiveness is renowned), as the opening sequence is not discussed in either *GPN* or *KGPN*. The photograph in *RIG* suggests that the third letter may be a kappa. Either of the two readings would produce plausible sequences in both Greek and Gaulish.

²⁶ Lambert 1997 43 produces figures which suggest that approximately three-quarters of names on *instrumenta domestica* in the Gallo-Greek corpus were abbreviated.

²⁷ Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 is a comprehensive study of the ‘village gaulois’. Genin and Lavendhomme 1997 is a study extending into the Roman period. See also *CAG* 42, 163–180 no. 187.

²⁸ Only one lapidary inscription is attested, *CIL* XIII 1649.

²⁹ See *RIG* I page 343, also Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 143 no. 3.

³⁰ *RIG* I G-229, Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 143 no. 7.

(2) ...]HNA[

This inscription on a sherd of Campanian A ware seems to be incomplete on both sides. Although the use of the eta is relatively rare in Gallo-Greek, as Lejeune remarks, it is attested and, once again, these letters cannot be securely assigned to either Greek or Gaulish.³¹

(3) EYKPITOYΛ? [...]

This inscription on Campanian A ware, complete on the left side, fragmentary on the right, has solicited the greatest debate. The final letter may be an alpha or a lambda. Originally the graffito was considered a Greek genitive of the Greek name Εὐκρίτος, followed by a second word, but Lejeune prefers to see a single name with the Gaulish suffix *-u(l)lo-*, the first vowel of which can be represented OY in Gallo-Greek. ‘La dérivation est faite, il est vrai, à partir d’un **eucrito-* d’apparence grecque; n’aurait-on pas là le calque grec d’un **sucrito-* gaulois. [...] Dans une telle substitution de ευκρίτο- à **συκρίτο*, ne peut-on voir, comme dans celle de εττοει à **αυουωτ* à Genouilly (G-225), une manifestation d’hellénomanie?’³² The suggestion of a single proprietor’s name seems sensible, though a Greek calque based on a compound which is unattested in Gaulish is unlikely,³³ not least because it would be a rare (if not unique) example of a Greek calque of a Gaulish word. The interpretation of this graffito as Greek Εὐκρίτου followed by another word offers a more sensible conclusion, particularly as the name is attested over fifty times in *LGPN* and both elements (ευ- and κρίτο-) are found in the onomastic record from the sanctuary of Aristaïos (§8.3).³⁴

(4)]BIPA[

This inscription on a fragmentary sherd of a locally made vessel is viewed as complete on the left by Lejeune and Guichard, and either complete on the right if the name is abbreviated to four letters, or missing letters which were likely to have formed a full name such as *Biracos* (*RIG* II.1 L-1 (Ventabren); *RIG* I G-257 (Alise-Sainte-Reine)), though other variants are possible.³⁵ The name is probably Celtic and can be compared to a number of similar formations in Latin inscriptions,

³¹ For possible Greek *comparanda*, see Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 128.

³² *RIG* I page 346.

³³ Though see *GNP* 257, 58 and *KGPN* 272–273, 185 for the elements *su-* and *crito-*.

³⁴ This is the preferred interpretation of Morel (Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 128) who provides references to the *comparanda*. Instances of *eu* are rare in Gaulish, due to the early shift > *ou*; furthermore, we might expect the notation EOY as at *RIG* I G-163, 225. However, the notations of diphthongs are relatively inconsistent, see *RIG* I page 442.

³⁵ *RIG* I G-228, Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 143 no. 2.

including those with distinctively Celtic suffixation, e.g. *Biracus* (DAG 182, 237).³⁶ However, Evans does not consider the proposed Celtic etymologies, including linking *bir(r)*- to the root behind Old Irish *berr* ‘short’, to be convincing.³⁷ In any case, the graffito is unlikely to be Greek.

Four further inscriptions on sherds reading: ΛΟΟΥ (RIG I G-232), ΜΑΓΑ (G-233),³⁸ ...]ΤΟΚΟΜ[... (G-234), ?ΠΙΟΥΤΙΙΟΥ (Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 143 no. 10), though not securely Gaulish in any single case, are unlikely to be Greek. The sequence ΟΟΥ in the first and ΙΙΟΥ in the last are not Greek, though both are attested in Gallo-Greek.

In total, the graffiti in Greek letters from Roanne provide three instances which may be Greek and five which are more probably Gaulish. The fact that the longest inscription appears to be Greek indicates that we should take seriously the suggestion that Greek epigraphy may be found at the settlement. However, even if it contains a Greek name, this inscription may well have been conceived as Gallo-Greek. How these inscriptions should be interpreted in terms of the ethnic composition of the site remains unclear. Roanne is situated at the point at which the Loire is no longer navigable and at the confluence of several cross-country land routes. Though typical of indigenous sites in several respects, Roanne presents specificities which have led archaeologists to recognize its privileged position in the patterns of exchange between north and south. From the earliest period distinctive pottery (including grey ware from Emporion) and Massaliote coins attest to contacts with the south, and though patterns of trade are complex and certain imports remain low, the diversity of imported ware stands in striking contrast to other sites in *Gallia comata*.³⁹ In particular, Roanne yields the greatest volume of Campanian ware outside the axes of the Rhône–Saône and the Aude–Garonne.⁴⁰ Morel reflects that the graffiti and other archaeological material represent the convergence of Mediterranean trade of diverse origins at Roanne, and the graffiti may even be the work of Greeks ‘séjournant ou passant sur le site de Roanne: peut-être des Marseillais’, whose predilection for Campanian A ware is well known.⁴¹ Others, such as Perron

³⁶ See GPN 311–314. For *-ako*, see §5.2.2.

³⁷ GPN 312–313. See Delamarre 2003 76 for details of the most likely etymology.

³⁸ The alphas in this inscription are of unusual form, though the form is also attested in the inscription from Saint-Germain-Source-Seine (G-271) where the attestation is unquestionable.

³⁹ Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 204–205. ⁴⁰ Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 129.

⁴¹ Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 128–129. ‘*Eukritos* (Massaliète?) établi en Gaule interne, pour y commercer ou pour toute autre raison’ (Morel 1986 165).

and Bellon, have marshalled this material as evidence for the settlement of Massaliote *negotiatores* in the indigenous context.⁴²

In view of the rarity of the graffiti and the insecure linguistic analysis, these conclusions may be premature, but nevertheless highlight the importance of including the evidence of the *instrumenta domestica*, without which the presence of Greeks at the site would probably not have entered the discussion. Clearly, it is impossible to prove that the inscriptions on pottery were written at the site by individuals who had settled there; however, the possibility remains tantalizing. Most significantly for the current study, the evidence demonstrates the spread and influence of the Mediterranean *koine* through the powerful and influential medium of trade. It should also be remembered that the suggestions that the evidence may point to Massaliote settlers are purely *ex silentio*; the Greek-speaking traders who may have created these graffiti could have originated from anywhere in the Mediterranean.

6.4 Penetration of Greek

One question raised in the introduction (§6.1) concerns the extent to which Greek extended beyond the coastal colonies into the ‘indigenous’ hinterland. This issue is important in considering the cultural contacts in the region and the ongoing debate on ‘Hellenization’. At this point it should be emphasized that language has not received the attention it deserves. Of course, the epigraphy of an area does not necessarily reflect directly the linguistic situation. However, analysis of the Greek inscriptional record, alongside an understanding of patterns of epigraphy elsewhere in the ancient world, may allow some conclusions to be drawn about the possible penetration of Greek. Did a proportion of people in indigenous settlements adopt Greek as they did Latin under Roman rule, reflecting the adage *Gallia in Graeciam translata*? Or was the linguistic situation in Southern Gaul more akin, for instance, to that of the Iberian peninsula with the advent of Phoenician and Punic, or indeed Greek,⁴³ whose spread was largely restricted to trading contexts and the settled coastal zone?

6.4.1 Conclusions from the evidence in IGF

Decourt reflects that his edition of Greek inscriptions from France forms ‘un ensemble sinon définitivement clos, du moins peu susceptible de remises

⁴² Perrin and Bellon 1992 428.

⁴³ The number of pre-Roman Greek inscriptions from the Iberian peninsula is extremely low, see De Hoz 2010.

en cause brutales', and though we might hope for further finds of Greek inscriptions, they will be 'en nombre limité'.⁴⁴ He notes that in the past twenty years only eleven new Greek inscriptions (of the type suitable for publication in *IGF*) have been found.⁴⁵

The edition is also restricted in chronological terms because the evidence dates almost entirely from the Imperial period. Greek inscriptions dating from the foundation of Marseille in c. 600 until this period, even including all the Massaliote examples, only number around twenty-five, depending on the dates accepted, out of a total of 169. This striking feature is mentioned, but not analysed, by Decourt, but is without doubt highly significant. It seems relatively unlikely, as can be argued for the *instrumenta domestica*, that Greek lapidary inscriptions would not have been recognized and conserved. Even if they are later 'lost', as is the case with a frustratingly large proportion, some mention is often made of the find that can be marshalled, however tentatively, as evidence. The high frequency of the Imperial evidence may therefore, to some extent, reflect the actual chronological distribution, raising the important question of why the earlier period has produced so few texts. We would have expected the Phokaian colonists to have brought with them their script and some degree of awareness of the possible uses of literacy. Furthermore, they had a reasonable motivation to express their identity as arrivals in an unfamiliar land. Nevertheless, it is only after the proliferation of Latin epigraphy from the twenties BC that Greek epigraphy becomes somewhat more commonplace.

At this point attention should turn to the epigraphic record from Phokaia, the *metropolis* of Massalia, situated on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, to see if answers may be found. Archaeological work on the ancient Ionian *polis* began with Sartiaux in the early twentieth century and was continued by the Turkish archaeologists Akurgal and Özyigit respectively from the 1950s to the present day.⁴⁶ Recent work has uncovered a city wall of between 7

⁴⁴ Decourt 2008 306.

⁴⁵ Decourt 2008 306 note 3. Decourt (p.c.) intends to publish an updated version of *IGF* on the web, which will include new bibliography and information on the material already edited in *IGF*, but also additional inscriptions (of the type suitable for publication in *IGF*, i.e. largely not *instrumenta domestica*).

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Akurgal 1976, 1978 116–118, Özyigit 1994, 2000, Sartiaux 1914, 1921. For an overview of the archaeology, see Hermay, Hesnard and Tréziny 1999 25–29, Özyigit 2006, Rubinstein 2004 1090–1091 and the exhibition catalogue *Phocée et la fondation de Marseille*, especially Morel 1995. Probably the best introduction to the history and the literary sources is Clerc 1927 76–85. Other introductions include Bean 1989 90–97 and Hodge 1998 7–15. Graf 1985 401–423 is often unmentioned in the bibliographies on this site, but his discussion of the sources, history and cults of the site (though now outdated in the light of Özyigit 2000) is valuable. He appends a list of inscriptions (467–470).

and 8 kilometres in length which ‘made the Archaic city one of the largest of its time’.⁴⁷ Conversely, the relatively low number of references to Phokaia in ancient authors mirrors the situation of Massalia,⁴⁸ and the epigraphic record is often described in modern literature as deficient.⁴⁹ The *corpus* of epigraphic texts assembled by the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton (*Phokaia*) contains a total of only twenty-seven lapidary inscriptions, to which *BE* and *SEG* add only two.⁵⁰

To interpret the scarcity of the texts we have to be sure that what we have is a representation, or at least a good indicator, of the actual situation in antiquity. Are the low figures merely a result of patchy excavation and of inadequate preservation and documentation? The comments by McNerney that ‘in the last half-century, very little excavation has taken place at Phokaia, and even less has been published’ suggest that these factors may play a role.⁵¹ Indeed, the ongoing archaeological work at Foça is hampered, as at Marseille, by the presence of the modern town on the ancient site.⁵² Nevertheless, the number of inscriptions from excavated areas is still low.

The first possible reason for the paucity of inscriptional evidence may be access to suitable stone.⁵³ Phokaia was, and is, surrounded by volcanic rock,

⁴⁷ Morel 2006a 360.

⁴⁸ The main references include: Hdt. 1.141–143, 1.146, 1.148, 1.151–152, 1.163–167, 2.178, 6.11–12, 6.17, Liv. 37.21, 37.31–32, Paus. 7.2.4, 7.3.8, 7.3.10, 7.5.4, Plin. *N.H.* 5.31.119, 5.32.121, Strabo 3.4.2, 4.1.4, 6.1.1, 13.1.2, 13.1.41, 13.3.5, 13.4.5, 14.1.2–6, 14.1.38, 14.2.29. The literary evidence is collected in Huxley 1966. The origin of the Phokaians has been a subject of debate. The main contender for filiation is Phokis in central Greece, the tradition being transmitted in various guises by Herodotus (1.146), Pausanias (7.3.10) and Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGRH* 2.1 no. 90, fragment 51). This association has been questioned, on the basis that it may, in part at least, be due to a (relatively common) false derivation of the names in antiquity, see, for instance, Keil 1941 444 and Sakellariou 1958 234–238, 295–297. The debate is described by McNerney 1999 157–162, though Osborne 2000 is right to criticize him for not pursuing the complexity further: ‘given the excellent material in the second chapter on “elective affiliation” being at the heart of ethnic identity it is very odd that M. is so reluctant to explore the myth-history of Phokis as a series of changing choices in selfpresentation (*sic*)’.

⁴⁹ ‘Le site lui-même a peu fourni. Boeckh ne pouvait grouper que quatre inscriptions, *CIG* 3412–3415’ (Robert 1968 210).

⁵⁰ The additional texts are *BE* 1971 488–489 no. 553, 558, *SEG* 1991 363 no. 1044 and *BE* 1994 566 no. 489, *SEG* 1993 315 no. 873.

⁵¹ McNerney 1999 160. Reports are contradictory (see McNerney 1999 181 note 22), and certainly some early finds have been lost. The Mycenaean pottery reported by Sartiaux 1921 122 disappeared, see Sakellariou 1958 355. Recent excavations have turned up pottery which allows the foundation of the settlement to be dated to the Early Bronze Age (Özyigit 2006 11).

⁵² ‘Même si Foça est une bien plus petite ville par rapport à la Marseille moderne, il faut d’abord noter que les deux sites sont recouverts par un habitat contemporain qui gêne considérablement l’exploration archéologique’ (Hermay 2000b 7).

⁵³ See Higgins and Higgins 1996 130–150 for a guide to the geology of the Eastern Sporades and the Ionian shore of Turkey.

which is generally unsuitable for carving.⁵⁴ Limestone was available inland around Izmir at a distance of about 50 kilometres, though importation by sea from, for instance, Lesbos, may have been preferred considering Phokaian navigational prowess.⁵⁵ However, a survey of the relative numbers of Ionian inscriptions on the *PHI* database and the geological composition of the sites indicates that no linear relationship exists between easy access to suitable stone and epigraphic output. The majority of inscriptions from Phokaia belong to the official sphere: within the *corpus* of only twenty-nine inscriptions, three building inscriptions can be found, and honorary decrees and dedications far outweigh the funerary epitaphs at a ratio of nineteen to six. Moreover, of the fifteen inscriptions which are securely dated, the earliest dates to the second century. This implies that the impulse to record may have been limited to official documents and, to an extent, the Roman period. One reason for the limited inscriptional record could be that the Phokaians were relatively anepigraphic. Until more extensive excavations and publications come to fruition, this suggestion cannot become conclusive, but it is offered here as a reminder of the diversity of attitudes towards the epigraphic habit. The marked discrepancies in output demonstrated, for instance, by the indigenous settlements throughout Southern France in the pre-Augustan period, support the claim that involvement in the epigraphic phenomenon is partly dependent on a series of factors beyond practical issues such as availability of suitable stone (Chapter 4).

Given the problems of excavation at Marseille, firm conclusions are elusive; however, the relative scarcity and late date of the lapidary inscriptions force the conclusion that the colonial Greeks of Gaul probably did not enthusiastically adopt the epigraphic habit. The later Greek lapidary inscriptions are mostly associated with highly literate, Romanized environments and Easterners, and form part of a broader Graeco-Roman movement (Chapter 9). Phokaia might provide evidence that the Phokaian Greeks were a somewhat anepigraphic branch of the colonists,⁵⁶ but the fact that a sister colony in Italy, Hyele (Velia), appears to present a comparatively richer inscriptional record suggests that the development of the colonies was highly dependent on their cultural contacts.⁵⁷ Faced with the lack of

⁵⁴ Volcanic basalts were only used for carving when no alternative was available, for instance in Syria (Benjamin Russell p.c.).

⁵⁵ The nautical skill of the Phokaians was famous in antiquity; for instance, Dionysios of Phokaia was placed in charge of the entire Hellenic fleet for the Battle of Lade in 494 (Hdt. 6.11–12).

⁵⁶ Indeed Torelli 1982 325 refers to Phokaian ‘silenzio epigrafico’, see also Morel 2006a 372.

⁵⁷ Arena 1998 collects the inscriptions from the archaic period, and Vecchio 2003 collects the lapidary Greek inscriptions from the sixth century to the first century AD (seventy-nine examples).

a literate audience in Southern Gaul, the Phokaiaians may have received no impulse to express their identity epigraphically until after the adoption of literacy by the indigenous people, and, later, the arrival of the Romans.

Of course, the lack of an epigraphic habit amongst the Phokaian Greeks of Asia Minor and Southern France is an important cultural phenomenon and worth demonstrating, but it poses a significant problem. If we consider the Phokaiaians and their colonists did not much care for expressing themselves in words on stone, then this presents a hurdle in assessing the penetration of the Greek language when we are reliant on written remains. We need to cast our net wider and look in particular at non-lapidary sources, such as the material in *Appendix 2*. But even then, we should remember that written output should never be directly correlated to spoken.

Some non-lapidary evidence in *IGF* does indeed hint that Greek was spoken outside the coastal colonies, and the bilingualism of traders and intermediaries, such as interpreters, may have spread the language to an extent beyond the Greek strongholds.⁵⁸ The first piece of evidence is the bronze hand-shaped *tessera hospitalis* found in the South of France and dated to the second half of the second or beginning of the first century. It reads: σύμβολον | πρὸς | Ουελαυνιους (*IGF* 1). Though the name is without doubt Gaulish, the identification of the community has been a source of some contention.⁵⁹ The *oppidum Senonum Vellaunodunum* (Caes. *B.G.* 7.11.1) has been suggested and a link has also been made with the *Vellaues* of Velay. However, the Ουελαυνιοι are most likely the *Velaunii*, the penultimate *gens* of the *gentes alpinae deuictae* on Augustus' *Tropaeum Alpium* (La Turbie), whose territory is possibly the valley of Estéron.⁶⁰ The significance of the use of Greek on a symbol intended to establish *hospitium* between two peoples, one of which is Gaulish, becomes less striking if the community producing the inscription is assumed to be Greek.⁶¹ Furthermore, the use of a σύμβολον, which the Greeks replaced with letters from the fourth century, may indicate that the Greeks did not necessarily expect the Celtic-speaking recipients to be capable of reading the inscription, but would recognize

⁵⁸ See Decourt 2008 307–309.

⁵⁹ See the references and discussion in *IGF* pages 4–5. For Gaulish *comparanda*: *GPN* 272–277, *KGN* 288–289, *CIL* XII 2373, Ουελαυνος occurs several times in the graffiti from the sanctuary of Aristaïos (*IGF* 68, see also §8.3).

⁶⁰ The inscription is reported by Pliny *N.H.* 3.20.136–138 and has been restored by Formigé 1955 on the basis of this text and 140 fragments, see also Barruol 1969 32–44. For the possible region of the *Velaunii*, see Lamboglia 1944 26.

⁶¹ Conversely, we might need to consider this object in the context of Roman conquest; see Feugère 2003 for the rare locally produced coins from the Hérault region with representations of an open hand representing, he argues, *fides Romana*.

the symbolic value of the object. Indeed, Gauthier remarks that σύμβολα probably existed in contacts between Greeks and non-Greeks due to the language barrier, well after their discontinuation between Greeks.⁶² The assumption that *IGF* 1 demonstrates that ‘il existait dans cette cité indigène des individus hellénisés, capables de lire et de comprendre le grec’ does not consider the symbolic status of the object.⁶³ However, the σύμβολον may tie in with Strabo’s remarks that φιλέλληνας κατεσκεύαζε τοὺς Γαλάτας ὥστε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ἑλληνιστὶ γράφειν (4.1.5) ‘[Massalia] trained the Gauls to appreciate the Greeks enough to even write their contracts in Greek.’ The extent to which fact underlies the rhetoric of this passage is debatable, and the context seems to be explicitly one of Roman conquest. Nevertheless, the epigraphic evidence suggests that Strabo may have been accurate in alleging that Gauls used Greek in certain domains. A section of Gaulish-speaking society may have used Greek as a *lingua franca* to communicate in trading and other similar contexts. This could even have been a practice of some antiquity, as we might infer from the next example.

The second example, from South-western Gaul, is the commonly cited fifth-century Pech Maho lead tablet (*IGF* 135), which has sometimes been mistaken for a bilingual Greek–Etruscan text.⁶⁴ In fact, the author of the Greek has reused a sheet which had an earlier Etruscan inscription on one side. The text vividly demonstrates the multiculturalism of the Aude region. Firstly, Etruscan is attested, and although it cannot now be understood, the *mataliai* of line 5 probably refers to Massalia.⁶⁵ So while the Etruscan inscription may not have been written at Pech Maho, the text can still be linked to Southern Gaul. The lead sheet also provides a commercial text in Greek sent to a Greek-named individual with reference to the Ἐμποροῖται, presumably inhabitants or people otherwise linked to the Phokaian colony,

⁶² Gauthier 1972 88 note 64. The *tesserae hospitales* originate in Graeco-Roman culture and seem to have been particularly prevalent in *Hispania*. The Celtiberian examples may be based on Roman models, though show some distinctive local features and may be a continuation of an indigenous practice, see Beltrán Lloris 2001, 2004 53, Beltrán Lloris *et al.* 2009, Díaz Ariño 2004. Prag forthcoming reminds us not to exclude possible Greek or even Etruscan *exempla*. On the function of σύμβολα and συμβολαί, see Gauthier 1972 62–104 (especially 85–89) and Knippschild 2002 151–158 (16–54 for the symbolism of the right-hand and the handshake).

⁶³ Lambert 1997 37 note 5. See also Lambert 1992 291 note 3 and Bats 1988a 125.

⁶⁴ This text has received more attention than any other epigraphic find from Southern France since its discovery in 1950. For a detailed bibliography, see *IGF* page 180 (to which could be added De Hoz 1998), see also Decourt’s citation of recent articles in *BE* 2005 page 588 no. 633, where he notes that the bibliography keeps growing, and ‘certaines contributions n’apparaissant pas d’une utilité évidente’.

⁶⁵ See Ampolo and Caruso 1990–1 31, Colonna 1988 553.

Emporion,⁶⁶ and two lists of witnesses whose names are a mixture of Iberian and of unknown origin. There is no direct reference to Gaulish individuals in the text, though Decourt has suggested their presence behind one of the unnamed participants: ‘Nous ne pouvons pas même trancher de son origine; cependant l’intervention d’un indigène est séduisante.’⁶⁷ Though this is clearly an argument *ex silentio*, the meeting of several different linguistic groups on one sheet of lead signifies the importance of trade in creating linguistic and cultural contacts. Indeed, the term ἄρραβῶν ‘pledge’ which appears in line 10 of the Greek text may be the first attestation of this term in Greek and is a loan-word. Thomas suggests in a brief discussion of the text that ‘the *arrabon* in the document, the object of pledge, is a Semitic loan-word, and we may naturally guess that this form of pledge was learned from the Phoenicians along with the word’.⁶⁸ Despite these wonderful glimpses, unfortunately our epigraphic evidence does not provide detailed and direct information about everyday spoken communication in trading situations. The epigraphy is official in some sense and often the product of trained scribes. However, the fact that apparently non-Greek witnesses, who presumably would have understood the Greek of the text, have been employed, indicates that in the domain of trade and commerce, knowing some Greek may have been a useful skill for the *indigènes*.

Overall, the lack of convincing evidence from *IGF* suggests a weak penetration of Greek in the pre-Roman period beyond the coast. However, the two pieces of evidence described above, though poor proof that indigenous people spoke Greek, at least suggest possible instances of linguistic and cultural contact with Greek communities. Indeed, the context of public and particularly trading relations may have been a key vector of Gaulish–Greek contact. Furthermore, the evidence from the sanctuary of Aristaios (*IGF* 68), though admittedly coastal and situated very close to the Greek settlement of Olbia, indicates that in certain areas of Southern Gaul the contacts between Gaulish and Greek-speaking communities may have been close and included more widespread bilingualism (perhaps on the part of the indigenous at least) than assumed for elsewhere in the region (§8.3).

6.4.2 Completing the picture: the new database

An analysis of the penetration of Greek based solely on *IGF* would give an incomplete picture. The evidence from the new database, if treated with

⁶⁶ The term also appears in a sixth-century lead inscription from Emporion (*SEG* 37 838, §5.4); for a discussion of this rare Greek term, see Demetriou 2012 35–36.

⁶⁷ *IGF* page 181. ⁶⁸ Thomas 2009 28.

care (§6.3), enables a survey of a fuller range of epigraphic material. The central question concerns the distribution of the finds: does the spread of the *instrumenta domestica* mirror that of the material in *IGF*, namely restricted in the main to the Greek settlements, the coast, trading contexts and Romanized contexts in the later period?

Once the items which are likely to have been imported are excluded from *Appendix 2* (these have been shaded), of the eighty-three remaining items, the majority, sixty, derive from Southern Gaul. Within this set of Southern instances, a pattern emerges, which supports the contention that Greek was largely restricted to the colonies and trading contexts. Once the entries which clearly derive from the conquest era and beyond are removed (i.e. any entries dated to post-100 BC), thirty-seven remain. Eight of these are from Marseille, four from Antibes, three from Lattes, two from Olbia, one from Agde and one from La Monédière (Bessan) (see p. 33 n. 152). It should be noted that the entries do not always refer to single inscriptions, but may refer to a set, as in the case of no. 7 (Lattes) and no. 8 (Olbia), and further details and bibliography can be found in *Appendix 2*. All of these settlements are either well-known Greek colonies, or, in the case of Lattes (South-western Gaul) a port of potentially complex origins (indigenous and perhaps Etruscan) but which came under Greek influence relatively early and was an important mixed trading centre.

The pre-Roman Southern entries in *Appendix 2* found outside Greek settlements number eighteen. Six of these can be associated with the realm of trade: Pech Maho (Aude) (no. 4), Bagaud 2 (no. 10), Ensérune (Hérault) (no. 23), Saint-Blaise (Bouches-du-Rhône) (nos. 71, 72) and Ruscino (Pyrénées-Orientales) (no. 75). The entry no. 23 concerns *tituli* on the handles of amphorae from Ensérune whose precise origins are irrecoverable. These inscriptions may not be directly associated with the find-spot, as the same inscription may have been marked on the amphorae of an entire cargo before distribution to the settlements. The inscriptions from Saint-Blaise are incised onto vessels and read MFPEΣIKOΣ (no. 71) and HΛAAH (no. 72). These have been interpreted as a designation of wine ('perfumed') and oil or olives respectively.⁶⁹ Again it is not absolutely certain that these vessels and inscriptions were produced at Saint-Blaise, though in these cases it seems likely. The inscription from Ruscino (no. 75) is an unpublished lead tablet dating to the fourth century. Bats has stated that it is of the same type as the lead tablets from Lattes, Pech Maho and Emporion, so we can assume

⁶⁹ Bats 2011 200.

that it is a commercial text in Greek and eagerly await its publication by De Hoz.⁷⁰

The first two examples, nos. 4 and 10, are perhaps worth some more detailed consideration, since they highlight the problems we face in the interpretation of some of these pieces of evidence. The first, a potter's mark, ΕΥΣΠΑΤΙΔ, on a *dolium* from Pech Maho (Aude) (no. 4), inscribed *ante cocturam*, was found alongside a Greek amphora with Iberian graffiti in habitation number twelve of the excavations. The inscription caused some uncertainty for the author of the original publication.⁷¹ He notes that Pech Maho is clearly an indigenous settlement, though subject to Greek influence. Not convinced that the inscription was incised on site and despite the impracticality of moving such a large and heavy object, he suggests the intermediary of a neighbouring Greek port such as Agde or Emporion. This object may, however, be evidence of Greek craftsmen and traders settling and working within an indigenous centre. Certainly this site was intimately bound up in Mediterranean networks and archaeologists have posited 'la présence que l'on suppose régulière de négociants méditerranéens'.⁷² Unfortunately, the meaning of the Greek inscription remains unclear (though it is probably part of a personal name), and, without verification of the original, it is impossible to check the accuracy of the reading.

The stamps on tin ingots found in the Bagaud 2 wreck (north of Île Bagaud, one of the Îles d'Hyères) (no. 10) are equally enigmatic (Figure 4). The wreck dates to the late second or early first century and carried both iron and tin, probably extracted from Spain. Although the stamps may have little direct relevance for the question of the penetration of Greek in Gaul outside the colonies, they again demonstrate the importance of trade as a vector of linguistic and cultural contacts. Indeed, if the original interpretation of the phrase is accepted, the trade may be traced directly to the 'Celts'. The longest inscription runs in a circle and reads ΠΕΡΙΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΝΥΠΟΚΕΛΤΩΝ. This has been segmented in various ways and begun at different points. The original publications printed the text as ὑπὸ Κελτῶν / ὑποκελτῶν περὶ Ἡρακλείδην, and stated that 'Il s'agit donc de Celtes, plus précisément d' "Hypoceltes" (cette appellation est par ailleurs totalement inconnue) apparemment groupés, pour l'exploitation commerciale de cet étain, autour d'un grec nommé Hérakleïdès, à la charnière du II^e et du I^{er} s. avant J.-C.'. ⁷³ Unsurprisingly the invention of 'Hypoceltes' has encountered some criticism and Sève suggested that ὑπὸ Κελτῶν περὶ Ἡρακλείδην,

⁷⁰ Bats 2011 204. ⁷¹ Gallet de Santerre 1959 453.

⁷² Gailledrat and Rouillard 2003 405, see also Gailledrat 2010.

⁷³ Pomey *et al.* 1987–8 29–300.



Figure 4 Tin ingot, Bagaud 2 wreck (Luc Long/DRASSM).

namely ‘indication de provenance par les Celtes associés au courtier grec d’Hérakleidès ou à ses fournisseurs’, was a safer interpretation.⁷⁴ A more recent interpretation views the τῶν of κελτῶν in the above analyses as the first word: τῶν περὶ Ἡρακλείδην ὑπὸ κελ(αρίων).⁷⁵ In Latin, *cellar(ar)ii* are inspectors of ingots, ‘the hypocellarii are subordinate employees’.⁷⁶ However, though examples of κελλάριος do occur in the Greek papyri from the first century AD,⁷⁷ it is not clear whether this word should be posited for a second- to first-century context.⁷⁸ This leaves us with no secure interpretation of an ambiguous Greek text.

The twelve remaining instances of pre-conquest Southern inscriptions, emanating from outside the Greek colonies and not obviously related to trading contexts, demonstrate a sporadic and partial penetration of Greek. All the published examples, as we shall see, are short and/or fragmentary inscriptions on ceramic, mainly dating to the sixth and fifth centuries and mainly incised on Attic vessels. The unpublished material seems to contain similarly short texts on ceramic, which appear to be later in date. The notice concerning unedited graffiti on vases from Marignane (Bouches-du-Rhône)

⁷⁴ BE 1989 no. 154, 383. ⁷⁵ Treister and Vinogradov 1992 203–205.

⁷⁶ SEG 1992 no. 967, 280–281. ⁷⁷ Treister and Vinogradov 1992 204.

⁷⁸ BE 1993 no. 115, 476.

(no. 70) refers to ‘quelques témoignages épigraphiques en caractères grecs’ dating from the third century.⁷⁹ Although this entry will remain in *Appendix 2* until further information is available, at least some of these graffiti could be Gallo-Greek. Similarly, the inscriptions in Greek script from Vaugrenier (near Antibes, Alpes-Maritimes) (no. 17) require detailed analysis before conclusions can be reached as to their linguistic affiliation and their significance for the analysis of the spread of Greek and the function of the site.⁸⁰ The inscriptions remain virtually unpublished, the only published material being poorly reproduced photographs.⁸¹ The texts resemble the evidence from Roanne: some sequences appear to be Greek (KPIT, ΦΙΛΟ), but several are not easily classified as Greek (though this may be due to inappropriate joins). However, the context here is not a trading centre, as at Roanne, but rather that of a sanctuary. We have around eighty inscriptions on sherds of pottery incised after firing and subsequently broken.⁸² These appear to have been left as offerings in an open-air sanctuary not far from the Greek colony of Antibes, in a rural setting ‘qui associe un petit escarpement à un espace lagunaire’⁸³ and dating to the second and first centuries.⁸⁴ The similarities with the Aristaion are extensive (§8.3).⁸⁵ The only real difference seems to be that the material from the Aristaion was found *in situ* and more of the inscriptions have been recovered, pieced together and successfully read; at Vaugrenier the meagre fragments rarely reach four letters. The instances of Greek at Ensérune (Hérault) (no. 22) in South-western Gaul are scarce in comparison with the high numbers of Iberian and Latin graffiti at the site,

⁷⁹ CAG 13/2 222.

⁸⁰ I am grateful to Stefan Tzortzis and Eric Delaval for arranging for me to see the inscriptions and to Pascal Arnaud for describing the site. Excavation on the site was undertaken by Clergues in the 1960s. He uncovered what he considered to be a ‘habitat gréco-ligure’ containing sixty inscriptions on campanian ware dating to the third and second centuries (1966 42–54, 1972). The investigation of the whole site was taken over by the Laboratoire d’archéologie de l’Université de Nice in 1994, led by Pascal Arnaud. Arnaud was able to add a few further inscriptions to Clergues’s harvest, revise the chronology and establish that the inscribed pottery had in fact been reused as in-fill in the creation of a Roman construction (not a ‘habitat gréco-ligure’) and originally belonged to a votive deposit in the vicinity, see Arnaud 1997–8, 1999 17–20, 2001. Elsewhere on the site, remains of the *Via Aurelia* and a secondary route have been traced, along with a Julio-Claudian ‘village-rue’ and temple (described in detail by Olivier and Rogers 1978), see Arnaud 1997–8, 2001.

⁸¹ Clergues 1972 184–187.

⁸² Arnaud 1999 17 (where he says seventy-eight), 2001 81 (where he says eighty-eight).

⁸³ Arnaud 1997–8 10.

⁸⁴ Based on the ceramic supports and associated coinage, Arnaud has suggested that the sanctuary was created between 175 and 150, with the main period of activity between the end of the second century and the middle of the first (1999 18).

⁸⁵ One inscription in Latin was even found (now lost), two have been identified at the Aristaion (p. 244).

but once again the publication provides few details.⁸⁶ The inscriptions contain one to three letters and some may in fact be Iberian. Indeed, Iberian, not Greek, seems to have been the main second language spoken by the Celtic inhabitants of this cosmopolitan trading post. Jannoray surmises that the use of Greek was firmly restricted to the commercial domain: ‘sans doute était-elle [Greek] restée pour les autochtones une sorte d’idiome des affaires, dont ils usaient à l’occasion pour traiter avec les négociants massaliotes.’⁸⁷

The published examples from beyond the Phokaian centres in Southern Gaul (nine entries) concern the sites of Ruscino, Montlaurès, Béziers, Elne, Pech Maho, Mailhac, Canonges, Martigues and Le Castellan and all involve graffiti on ceramic, and with the exception of the final two, Attic ceramic. These are dated to the first couple of centuries immediately following the foundation of Marseille. It is striking that seven out of nine sites are situated in South-western Gaul. Whether or not this distribution is a reflection of reality or simply a question of preservation, documentation and publication will have to be considered more thoroughly in the light of future epigraphic publications. But such a distribution would not be unexpected given the different trajectories of, and influences on, the different ‘zones’ of Southern Gaul (§1.5.3).

The example of the graffito on a red-figure Attic cup (no. 56) at La Monédière (Bessan) reading]IONKA[, and interpreted as]ΙΟΝ ΚΑ[λός also offers meagre support for the very plausible assumption that a mixture of Greeks of different origins, including those, perhaps from Attica, will have been operating in the region and leaving their mark. It is also worth noting that all the sites that have so far produced Etruscan inscriptions: Béziers, Lattes, Marseille, Pech Maho, Saint-Blaise in the sixth and fifth centuries, and Ensérune in the fourth century, have also produced Greek inscriptions in the same periods. As Bats remarks, ‘Le grec et l’étrusque apparaissent comme des langues véhiculaires du commerce et l’on doit donc envisager des situations de bilinguisme, voire de multilinguisme, avec résidence de Grecs ou d’Étrusques dans des établissements indigènes.’⁸⁸

Overall, the evidence from the new database still tends to support the conclusion from *IGF* since a slight majority (twenty-three out of thirty-seven entries) of instances of pre-conquest Greek can be assigned to the Greek colonies and trading contexts.⁸⁹ Certain indigenous sites, such as Vaugrenier or Marignane, could potentially display more intense contact with the Greek communities outside trading contexts but obviously the evidence must first be subjected to detailed publication before conclusions

⁸⁶ Jannoray 1955 352 note 4. ⁸⁷ Jannoray 1955 356. ⁸⁸ Bats 2011 201.

⁸⁹ This reflects the conclusion of the survey of Greek in Iberia (De Hoz 2004).

can be drawn. The published texts, however, have shown that the picture may be more complicated than the restricted evidence in *IGF* allowed us to see. There is a possibly higher distribution of early Greek texts in South-western Gaul which must be analysed further and demonstrates the importance of using graffiti and the potential for uncovering regional variation.

Virtually none of the entries from Northern Gaul in *Appendix 2* dates to a pre-100 BC context. Those that are perhaps to be dated earlier, such as the inscription on part of a bed from Bourgoin-Jaillieu (no. 5) and the set of graffiti found at Roanne (Loire) (no. 3) (see 154–157) are firmly associated with trading contexts. Several of the unshaded entries in *Appendix 2* derive from Roman contexts and strongly support the hypothesis that Greek becomes the language of specialized domains in the Roman period, a topic that will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

6.5 Evidence for interaction between Greek and Gaulish

6.5.1 Onomastics: patronymics

It was suggested (§5.2.2) that the exclusive use of patronymic suffixation for Gaulish names in Gallo-Greek in Southern Gaul, instead of coexistence with the patronymic genitive, may have been a deliberate decision on the part of Celtic-speaking communities to mark ‘difference’ from the Greeks who employed the patronymic genitive. However, this argument does not fit well with the general picture of restricted contact between Gaulish- and Greek-speaking communities, and it was proposed that the use of the patronymic genitive in Celtic communities elsewhere may have been the result of retention or contact-induced change. All the exceptions from the region, namely the instances of the simple patronymic genitive formula with Gaulish names, occur in noticeably ‘Greek’ contexts. One example is the Μεθιλλος mosaic inscription (*IGF* 124) discussed below, though as we shall see, its interpretation is not assured. If this does contain a rare instance of a patronymic genitive, the motivating factor is not hard to uncover. The mosaic includes a specialist Greek term and is clearly found in a Hellenizing context. The other examples occur in the Greek inscriptions of the Celtic-named participants at the Aristaion (§8.3.2).

6.5.2 Onomastics: nomenclature

A significant indicator of the level of interaction between indigenous peoples and Greeks is the frequency with which the nomenclature of each appears in the epigraphic record of the other. Unlike the frequent attestations of Greek

and Gaulish names in Latin epigraphy, mixtures of Gaulish and Greek are rare considering the long period of possible contact, and this supports the evidence from the bilingual texts discussed below. Indeed, *RIG* and the subsequent updates contain not one clear instance of a Greek name used in a Gaulish inscription. However, as we have seen, the assignment of graffiti to Gallo-Greek or Greek can be controversial and is often reliant on the origin of names themselves. Just as Greek personal names do not occur in Gaulish inscriptions, neither do Greek deities, though there may be hints that the process of *interpretatio*, so common in Roman religion, may occur, albeit on a much more restricted scale, in the pre-Roman period between the Greek and Gaulish religious systems (§8.3.4).

Excluding the exceptional evidence of the Aristaion (§8.3), *IGF* provides only two attestations of Gaulish names in linguistically Greek contexts, the first of which is the aforementioned inscription on the hand-shaped σύμβολον (*IGF* 1), which is probably a tribal designation rather than a personal name (p. 161). The second instance occurs on the mosaic inscription from Nîmes (*IGF* 124, *DAG* 74): Μεθιλλος ΚΑΣΣΙΜΟΤΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΕΤΟ|ΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΚΕΚΟΝΙΩΚΕ.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, the transcription is insecure as the mosaic was destroyed sometime after 1860, and Evans is cautious regarding its authenticity and interpretation. The first word is almost certainly the Gaulish name Μεθιλλος.⁹¹ The next section is more difficult, ΚΑΣΣΙΜΟΤΟΥΛΟΥ may be a Gaulish dative or a Greek genitive.⁹² This is followed by a possible form ΣΕΓΟΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ, if we follow Evans's correction of the tau to a gamma, though how the three names fit together is unclear, and a tripartite system is not a standard native formula in either language.⁹³ The most plausible solution would be to view the first two names as a nominative and a patronymic genitive, with some sort of verb of commissioning (or similar) understood, followed by a second name referring to the artisan who is the subject of the expressed verb. The use of a patronymic formula for one name, but not the other, is not surprising if we are dealing with two men with different functions, and possibly different social standing. The final word appears to be a Greek perfect meaning 'he has plastered' *vel sim.*, which, if assured, would encourage the classification of the inscription as Greek. It is unfortunate that the authenticity and transcription is problematic, as the inscription would contain a rare instance outside the Aristaion

⁹⁰ See Lejeune and Lambert 1996 (G-556) for a fragmentary Gallo-Greek inscription in a mosaic from Cavaillon.

⁹¹ For this name, see *GPN* 367–368; it is attested in the graffiti from La Graufesenque (Marichal 1988 no. 27.3), and in various guises on potters' stamps, see Oswald 1931 199.

⁹² See *GPN* 63–65. ⁹³ See *GPN* 110–111.

of Greek used by, or for, a person with Gaulish nomenclature. This is all the more unusual considering the specialist nature of the verb, which clearly shows a greater knowledge of Greek than the use of clichéd vocabulary such as ποιέω (§9.2.1).

6.5.3 Bi-version bilingual texts

Not a single Greek–Gaulish bi-version bilingual text (§9.2.2) dating from either before or after the Roman conquest has been discovered in Southern France. This is perhaps relatively unsurprising given the weak penetration of Greek outside the coastal settlements and trading situations, and the cultural contacts described (§1.5.3) suggest little motivation to represent dual identities.

6.5.4 Texts displaying bilingual phenomena

Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving Greek and Gaulish are also rare in Southern Gaul, which again supports the theory of restricted Greek–Gaulish bilingualism in the region. However, the second-century inscription, ΜΗΤΡΩΝ, from Olbia, Hyères (*IGF*66) may present an example of interference between Gaulish and Greek.⁹⁴ The object, whose exact find-spot is unknown, consists of a roughly hewn block of stone. The inscription is repeated on two adjacent sides of the block. Two main interpretations have been offered: one views the inscription as Greek, the other as Greek though probably referring to Gaulish deities and perhaps inscribed by a non-Greek. Yet another interpretation might be added, analysing the inscription as Gaulish with interference from Greek.

According to the editors of *BE*, ΜΗΤΡΩΝ ‘ne paraît guère pouvoir donner autre chose que l’anthroponyme ionien Μητρων’⁹⁵ in the masculine nominative singular, and consequently the stone is a funerary inscription rather than a dedication. Two objections to this hypothesis raised by Decourt are not strong. First, although he claims that a funerary monument would not be expected in the centre of the settlement, he makes clear the uncertainty surrounding the find-spot of the inscription.⁹⁶ Second, he argues that the name, though not unique, is rare in the Greek onomastic record. However, this conclusion was reached through the data provided by the then available volumes of *LGP*N, which did not include volume Va (Pontos to Ionia). In fact, *LGP*N Va shows that ten instances emanate from Ionia. Decourt’s most

⁹⁴ Decourt 2008 308. ⁹⁵ *BE* 1966 no. 503.

⁹⁶ *IGF* page 77 for all the objections, see also Coupry 1971 142.

cogent argument, which severely questions the hypothesis of a funerary epitaph, is that none of the Greek funerary inscriptions of Gaul contains a single personal name for the deceased and the repetition of the name on different sides of the stone is not easily paralleled.

The second option views the inscription as referring to the mother goddesses, possibly linked to the Celtic cult or of Eastern Greek affiliation as Coupury suggests.⁹⁷ Numerous Gaulish (e.g. *RIG* I G-203), Latin (e.g. Rougemont 1968–70 no. 6), but also occasionally Greek inscriptions (e.g. *IGF* 128) attest the predominance of the cult of the mother goddesses in Celtic-speaking regions, and this could either be a dedication or, considering the repetition of the inscription and the shape of the object which is akin to that of a boundary stone, may mark the position of a sanctuary.⁹⁸ Significantly, and apparently unknown to the commentators, a mother goddess may be attested in the small *corpus* from Phokaia: Ἀρίγνωτος | καὶ Πόλλης | Μητρὶ Ἄνδ[. . .]α | χαριστή[ρ]ια (*Phokaia* 9), which supports the possible origin of the cult in the Greek East. Moreover, a Latin inscription on a votive altar found in Roman remains to the north-east of Olbia is dedicated to a mother goddess: *Aprile | Matri | u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, and may demonstrate continuity of cultic practice.⁹⁹ The genitive plural ΜΗΤΡΩΝ lacks the expected epsilon (ΜΗΤΕΡΩΝ), which may be due to an orthographical error on the part of the stone-cutter or a declensional mistake in his language. Decourt suggests that the engraver may have been non-Greek, but writing in Greek, the mistake in his declension based on analogy with the genitive singular μητρός and influenced by the masculine genitive plural form ἀνδρῶν.¹⁰⁰ This mistake, Decourt notes, may stem from the apparently random substitution of omicron and omega in Gallo-Greek, and that Gaulish does not have a vowel between the stop and liquid, as attested by MATPON (genitive plural) in a Gallo-Greek inscription from Istres (Bouches-du-Rhône) (Lejeune 1988 G-519).¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Coupury 1964 318–319. He also suggests ‘Déesses Mères ligures, attachées par nature à ce sol et adoptées sur place par les Grecs’ (319), see §1.5.2 for the problems with resorting to the Ligurian hypothesis.

⁹⁸ See *IGF* pages 170–171 for bibliography and a brief discussion of the Celtic mother goddess cult, to which should be added Hermary and Tréziny 2000b 149 and Schmidt 1987.

⁹⁹ The remains at sector CR13 have not yet been securely interpreted. The two main options are a spring sanctuary or a *villa*, see *CAG* 83/1 457–458 no. 069.23*. The inscription appears to be lost, see Coupury 1964 318 and *CAG* 83/1 457 no. 069.23*.

¹⁰⁰ *IGF* page 77, Decourt 2008 308. No standard Greek dialects have μήτρων as a genitive plural form.

¹⁰¹ Lejeune 1988 99–101, see also Hamp 1990 181–182 for the form and *CAG* 13/1 201–202 no. 047.18 for the archaeological context.

Another option, not suggested in the literature, would be to view the stone-cutter as a non-Greek, literate in Greek, writing in his native tongue to the Celtic goddesses, and showing interference from Greek. The language of the inscription would be Gaulish, the same form (genitive plural) as that at Istres, but with the well-attested disregard for the length of vowels affecting the final vowel, and orthographical (or phonological?) interference from Greek affecting the first, which has been written with an eta rather than an alpha. Though this interpretation is no more secure than that proposed by Decourt, viewing the inscription, as he does, as a deity name rather than a personal name seems more plausible and fits better with the inscriptions found at the site, of which the most similar in form are dedications to Leto, Aphrodite and an anonymous hero (*IGF* 64, 65, 67). Both interpretations have recourse to a bilingual environment, in which a glimpse of the contact between Greek and Gaulish can perhaps be seen.

The designation ‘bilingual text’ (§3.2) does not include inscriptions containing names of a different linguistic origin from that of the rest of the inscription, thus the mosaic discussed above (*IGF* 124) is not a bilingual text, but is indicative of a bilingual milieu. Though the evidence is meagre, and no bi-version bilingual texts are extant, it may be significant that the only possible example of a text displaying bilingual phenomena involving Greek and Gaulish from Southern Gaul derives from Olbia, even though the Greek settlement has yielded very little lapidary epigraphy. As we have seen, the nearby Aristaion stands out as an environment where Greeks and indigenous people mixed, though, as yet, no bilingual texts have been identified. The region of Olbia reoccurs as an area where contacts between the indigenous people and the Greeks may have been relatively close (though see p. 256), and reminds us, as with the evidence of the adoption of the script, that the indigenous people should not be viewed as a homogeneous entity, but rather as diverse series of communities, displaying a variety of differing cultural contacts with the Greeks.

6.5.5 Contact-induced change

The written Greek of Southern Gaul shows no clear evidence of features which suggest a dialectal form under influence from indigenous languages (though the formulae from the Aristaion may constitute an exception (§8.3.4)). Instead, previous scholarship has focused on the form of Greek used in the colonies based on knowledge of Greek dialects (§5.4). Without the conservative effects of education and a long history of writing and standardization, Gaulish must be considered in a different context. However,

very little evidence for a dialectal form of Gaulish created through contact with Greek is available. The evidence presented below is a mere handful of features which may simply reflect the influence of orthographical practices. The only regional specificity appears to be the *dedebratoudekanten* formula which displays evidence of cultural and linguistic contacts beyond simply those involving the Greeks of Gaul (§7.2).

Phonological/orthographical phenomena

In 1955 Watkins published a phonemic discussion of the Gaulish of Narbonensis. His work was based primarily on the relatively recent publication of *DAG* and refers to ‘the dialect of Narbonensis’. In the preamble Watkins states the main limitations, namely the specialized nature of the material, which is based on a frustratingly small number of epichoric inscriptions, glosses which pose difficulties in interpretation, and a wealth of onomastic material from Latin and Greek contexts (in *DAG*, c. 250 deity names, 350 ethnic designations, 1,550 personal names). Given the evidence and problems inherent in analysing any corpus language phonemically, Watkins remarks that his study ‘must be regarded as tentative, and subject to revision in the light of clearer evidence or a better analysis’.¹⁰² In over fifty years no one has attempted a review of Watkins’s thesis.

As regards the evidence for Gaulish from Southern Gaul, the additional material published since *DAG* has provided, in general, more of the same, and no lengthy texts have been uncovered, as have for Gallo-Latin in the *Tres Galliae*. Nothing can be cited as clear evidence against any of the developments proposed by Watkins; in fact, more evidence can be marshalled in support. Nevertheless, the validity of Watkins’s assumption of the existence of a Narbonensis dialect of Gaulish, and, if dialectal features can be assigned, their possible origins in language contact, must be tested. His title *The phonemics of Gaulish: the dialect of Narbonensis* was presumably chosen as a response to Whatmough’s compendium *The dialects of ancient Gaul*, which was assembled on geographical divisions. However, Whatmough fails to present a linguistic description of any of the regions he describes, and the unwieldy mass of material has been assembled without sufficient caution.¹⁰³ Similarly, Watkins’s analysis of the phonemic inventory of Narbonensis Gaulish, though an elegant discussion, should not succeed in convincing the reader that the material under discussion forms a dialectal

¹⁰² Watkins 1955 9.

¹⁰³ See, for instance, Lejeune 1970.

entity. Dialectal variety in Gaulish surely existed, but it is not clear why, even if we could trace it, it would necessarily follow the boundaries of the Roman province.

The first reference to a possible specificity is that of the lack of final /o/ in Narbonensis Gaulish which is present to the north.¹⁰⁴ In fact, clear attestations of final /o/ can be presented, including the dative plural of *ā*-stem and consonant stem nouns in *-abo* / *-bo* (e.g. ΓΛΑ|NEIKA|BO (*RIG I G-64*), MATPEBO NAMAYΣIKABO (*RIG I G-203*)) and perhaps the evidence cited below (p. 176), if Lambert's analysis is in fact accurate. Similarly, the lack of *tau gallicum* in initial position and of final stops in Narbonensis Gaulish, when they are attested elsewhere, is probably the result of the lacunose epigraphic evidence.¹⁰⁵

Watkins provides an inspired explanation of two tendencies affecting the notation of stops in intervocalic position throughout the attested varieties of Gaulish. The tendency of relevance for us involves the notation of /k/, /t/, once /b/, and /g/, with <ch / χ>, <th / θ>, <φ>, and *zero* respectively. Watkins describes this phenomenon as 'a tendency toward weaker articulation of single stops in medial position'.¹⁰⁶ He claims that the absence of intervocalic /g/, particularly preceding /i/, is more common in Southern Gaul than in other regions to the north, and in this respect these northern regions are referred to as 'more conservative'.¹⁰⁷ However, he only offers one Gallo-Greek instance of this, namely a coin inscription KAIAOTOAOY (*DAG 78*),¹⁰⁸ and in fact *RIG* provides several instances of the retention of intervocalic /g/ in the environment of /i/ (*RIG I G-3*, 4, 28, 121).¹⁰⁹ Since Gallo-Greek contains considerably fewer examples of this loss than the Gaulish names in the later Latin inscriptions from the same area, rather than being a diagnostic dialectal feature, this loss or weakening of intervocalic /g/ is likely to be a development over time.

Watkins's article is ultimately misleading: it does not focus on nor prove the specificity of Narbonensis Gaulish. Indeed, as we have shown, no distinctive dialectal features can be securely attested in the phonemic

¹⁰⁴ Watkins 1955 10. ¹⁰⁵ Watkins 1955 15–16.

¹⁰⁶ Watkins 1955 17. Watkins 1955 19 views both tendencies as precursors of systematic morphophonemic lenition. He views Gray's attempt to argue that Gaulish possessed a system of mutations as a failure (Gray 1944, Watkins 1955 18).

¹⁰⁷ Watkins 1955 17. See also *GPN* 400.

¹⁰⁸ The fragmentary inscription from Nîmes may provide an example:]BOIOY (< *Bogio*-) (Lejeune 1994a G-528).

¹⁰⁹ Comparison with Gallo-Greek texts outside Southern Gaul provides evidence for the retention of intervocalic /g/ in the environment of /i/:]OFITIΩ (*RIG I G-250*), OYOFITIΩY (G-251).

inventory. Naturally, a considerable *caveat* is attached to this conclusion which is reached through an analysis of the written remains of a relatively fragmentary language: the phonemics pose problems of analysis and the phonetic level is virtually impenetrable. A corollary to the lack of specific features is that contact with Greek appears to have produced no obvious contact-induced change. The only possible evidence Watkins mentions is the use of N for the final nasal, which might be due to influence from Greek orthography.

Morphological/orthographical phenomena

One possible specificity of the Gaulish in Southern Gaul may be found in the morphology of the *o*-stem thematic nouns. Lambert describes a double development of the dative singular in Gaulish, one showing **-ōi > -oi > -o*, the other **-ōi > -ūi > -ū*, the first of which is only illustrated by Gallo-Greek: BEΛEINO (*RIG I* G-28), AΔPETIO (G-216) and ABPΩ (G-219).¹¹⁰ He suggests two reasons for the distinctive development in Gallo-Greek. One is the ‘profonde influence de la culture grecque’, but the other recognizes that all the forms ending O/Ω appear at the end of lines and therefore could be the result of ‘un abrègement involontaire’ of the other attested forms in -OYI and -OY.¹¹¹ In fact, in Gallo-Greek the complexities of the orthographical renditions of the vowels mean that the double development of **-ōi > -oi > -o* and **-ōi > -ūi > -ū* is an unnecessary complication.

Development 1:	<i>*-ōi</i>	>	<i>-oi</i>	>	<i>-o</i>
Possible notations:	<i>*OI / *ΩI</i>		<i>*OI / *ΩI</i>		O / Ω
Development 2:	<i>*-ōi</i>	>	<i>-ūi</i>	>	<i>-ū</i>
Possible notations:	<i>*OI / *ΩI</i>		<i>*OI / *ΩI / OYI</i>		O / Ω / OY

The notations marked with asterisks are unattested in the Gaulish *corpus*, but are the possible combinations which could be used to notate Lambert’s suggested developments. We should note that though lengths have been marked by Lambert, quantity was not a feature of the representation of Gaulish (§4.2.1). The table demonstrates that all the attested orthographical renditions of the dative singular (if they have been correctly identified) can be derived from the second development alone, whereas the intermediate stage in the first development is not attested. This may well be

¹¹⁰ Lambert 2003a 53. ¹¹¹ Lambert 2003a 53.

suitable for the application of Occam's razor: we need only retain the second development.

Certainly, the first development can be excluded from Gallo-Latin which only shows the final *-ū* stage. Whether we retain the first development or not for Gaulish, the choice of *O/ω* in Gallo-Greek for the final stage (whether it represents *-ū* or *-o*) might reflect orthographical influence from Greek, which has omega in the dative singular.

6.6 Gaulish–Greek contacts: conclusions from the linguistic evidence

For the first time, an analysis of the extended Greek epigraphic record was made possible using the new information in *Appendix 2*. The results indicate a relatively poor penetration of Greek outside the colonies, with the important exception of trading contexts and perhaps, to an extent, the South-western zone. Though no definitive conclusions can be drawn about linguistic situations from the epigraphic remains, were Greek to have spread widely, we might expect to find more traces. The declaration by Pompeius Trogus that *Gallia in Graeciam translata* finds little support from the linguistic record (§6.1). This, perhaps, should not cause us too much concern: Pompeius Trogus describes himself, not as a Gaul, but as a Vocontian, and we must bear this in mind when we consider his possible motives for describing pre-Roman Gaul as *in Graeciam translata*. Collis refers to the *Vocontii* as 'a bit special',¹¹² the one Gallic tribe allowed to keep their own institutions after the Roman conquest and the only *ciuitas foederata* in Provence apart from Marseille.¹¹³ Pompeius Trogus himself was highly integrated into Roman society, Junianus Justinus reports that his grandfather served with Pompey in the Sertorian Wars, subsequently receiving citizenship, and that his father was a senior member of Caesar's staff (43.11), acting as an interpreter between Ambiorix and Caesar during the Gallic Wars (*B.G.* 5.36). Presumably, then, it was in Pompeius Trogus's interest to present the Gauls of the South as highly civilized over a long period by the Greeks, to forge distance between them and the 'barbarian' northern tribes, the implication being that the Romans would find no trouble in his region and that it should be treated in a way that reflected its superior position. Indeed, Pompeius Trogus undermines his positive statement in his own surrounding narrative in describing the ferocity of the struggles

¹¹² Collis 2003 105.

¹¹³ See Dietler 2010 93.

with the *Gallica feritas* and the endless attacks by the ‘Ligurians’: *Ligures incrementis urbis inuidentes Graecos adsiduis bellis fatigabant* (43.3.13) ‘The Ligurians harried the Greeks constantly with wars, jealous of their growing city [Massalia].’

The evidence for language contact also argues against the rhetoric of Pompeius Trogus. The adoption of Greek script and the development of Gallo-Greek were shown to have potentially complex origins and external and internal motivations, and are not simply evidence for the ‘acculturation’ of Celtic-speaking communities in contact with Massaliote colonists (Chapter 4). The onomastics show very little evidence of Greek contact features and the evidence for bilingual texts is virtually non-existent. Furthermore, despite the relative proximity of the languages over hundreds of years, no secure morphological and phonological contact phenomena can be uncovered which might characterize a regional variety of Gaulish influenced by Greek or vice versa.

7 | ‘La Celtique méditerranéenne’? Investigating the influence of the Mediterranean *koine*

7.1 Linguistic evidence for the Italian connection

We might need to look beyond colonial Greek for evidence of linguistic contacts in the Gaulish of Southern Gaul. It should be quite clear from the brief account in the opening chapter that Roman involvement in Southern Gaul began long before Augustus (§1.5.3). The earliest official actions occur in the late third century, in a period when Italian trade and small-scale Italian settlement in the region were beginning to take root.¹ The most obvious direct evidence for early linguistic influence from Italy in the region might include inscriptions in Italic languages such as Oscan, or the Greek of *Magna Graecia*, but these are respectively absent and difficult to identify, though, of course, Etruscan is attested from an early period, particularly at sites such as Lattes (p. 30). It is not impossible that visitors or settlers from Italy left no epigraphic trace in their local languages, though distinctive nomenclature attested in the Latin epigraphy may reflect continuity from an earlier period (§8.2.6) and some early Latin graffiti have been identified.² The *dedebratoudekanten* dossier described in §7.2 reveals the complexity of cultural contacts that underlie linguistic and cultural development in the region, which in part derive from the Italian peninsula. Beyond this, however, the Gallo-Greek evidence provides little assistance as it is mainly restricted to onomastic elements; though here too the evidence is for contact with the Italian peninsula rather than the Phokaian realm.

Indeed, none of the non-Gaulish names in the published Gallo-Greek inscriptions is Greek.³ The clearest instance is the Latin name KOPNHΛΙΑ (*RIGI* G-65), and, since the *dedebratoudekanten* formula is also present, this may support the hypothesis of the formula formed in part through contact with the Italian peninsula. Other possible instances may also originate in the Italian peninsula, for instance ΓΑΙΟC (*RIGI* G-198 (Gaujac)),⁴ CKOYPPA

¹ For the scale of Italian trade, see Wilson 2008 183–186. ² See Mauné 2000 249, 251–252.

³ There may be one, Ἀνδρόνικος, if we classify the stele from Noves (*IGF* 54) as Gallo-Greek rather than Greek (see §9.1).

⁴ Also ΓΑΙΙΑ (G-243 (Mont-Beuvray)).

(G-141 (Cavaillon)) and EK|A|IO|C P[?]OY|MAN[I/E?]|OC (G-183 (Collias)) which also occurs with *dedebratoudekanten*, though the name resists simple analysis. The second name is possibly a patronymic in IOC/EOC. Lejeune remarks 'qu'elle se lise *Riumo-* ou *Rumo-*, la souche demeure isolée. Même si on lit ρουμανιος, il est très improbable que le père ait eu pour nom un sobriquet "Rōmānus".'⁵ According to Lejeune's transcription of the inscription, the iota, restored by Germer-Durand, can be attributed to a misinterpretation of wear on the stone.⁶ Thus the reading POYMANIOC is the most plausible, and the question of whether this character has a father named *Romanus* should not be dismissed so unquestioningly. The orthodoxy on the nature of the contacts in the region has led Lejeune to assume that this cultural development is very unlikely. However, other evidence highlighting the importance and precocity of the contacts with the Italian peninsula allows us to imagine a Celtic-speaking character involved in a public display of devotion, whose father may have had particularly close links with traders and settlers from the Italian peninsula, or whose father may even have been 'Roman' and married into a Celtic-speaking family. It is also possible that the second word is the name *Romanius*, which is well attested in the Celtic zone,⁷ and forms part of a bipartite formula rather than a patronymic (§7.1.1). If so, the apparent attachment to Roman culture might be more directly related to the character himself, rather than the father.

Other instances of the closeness of Gaulish and Latin can be seen with the ΠΠΑΙΤΩΠ in the Gallo-Greek inscription from Vitrolles (§4.2.3) and in the two epitaphs from a grave at Ventabren. The Ventabren grave inscriptions OYENITOOYTA | KOYAΔPOYNIA (*RIG I* G-106) and *VECTIT*[... | *BIRACI*[... (*RIG II*.1 L-1) (§4.3) (Figures 5 and 2 (above, p. 117)) are generally thought to be those of a couple, a woman and man respectively, though there is no reason why the second might not mask a feminine name. Both were positioned above a structure measuring 60 × 30 cm containing only cinders and charred material,⁸ and are thought to be roughly contemporary. L-1 was restored as *Vectit[us] Biraci [f.]* by editors prior to Lejeune.⁹

⁵ *RIG I* page 254. ⁶ For Germer-Durand's transcription, see *IAN* page 951.

⁷ For the examples, see Untermann 1969b 138–139. Cf. the Middle Welsh personal name *Rufawn* < *Romanus* (Jackson 1953 307) and the Welsh place-name *Rhufoniog* < *Romaniaco* (Jackson 1953 653).

⁸ No further investigations were carried out in the proximity so it is impossible to tell if this was an isolated burial (*RIG I* page 118). Finds of epigraphic and anepigraphic stelae in the area suggest the presence of one (or more) necropoleis, see CAG 13/1 114.

⁹ See, for instance, *DAG* 69 note iv. The name elements are Celtic: for *Vecti-* see *GPN* 281–285, 384, *KGPN* 285–287; for *Birac-* see *GPN* 311–314.

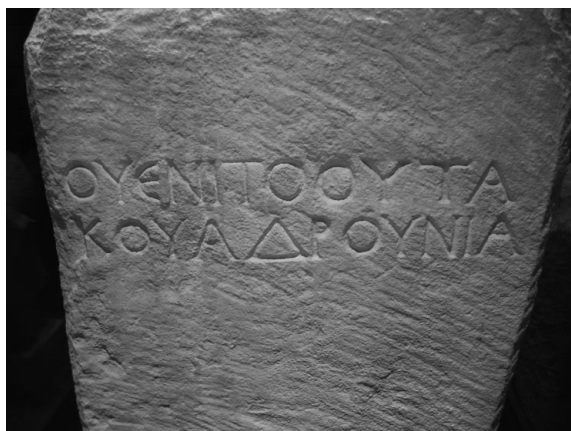


Figure 5 RIG I G-106, Ventabren, Musée d'archéologie méditerranéenne de Marseille.

He rightly points out that several other options are possible, for example the second name as a simple patronymic genitive without filiation marker or as a patronymic adjective.¹⁰ A patronymic adjective in an area producing Gallo-Greek inscriptions is not unlikely, though this inscription shows a break in practice in using the Latin script, and the Latin filiation system may have had an impact. Sadly, the fragmentary state of the inscription prevents any certainty. It might be significant that the patronymic ΚΟΥΑΔΡΟΝΙΑ in the inscription in Greek script is almost certainly based on a Latin name, perhaps, *Quadron(i)us*.¹¹ If the patronymic is Latin, and the other inscription (L-1) in Gallo-Latin or Latin is that of the husband, the woman's name, ΟΥΕΝΙΤΟΟΥΤΑ, stands out as more traditional.¹² The naming system of Latin, which, in epigraphy at least, until the spread of the *cognomen*, did not provide women with distinctive, individuating names, was perhaps less flexible than that of Celtic. Since the *cognomen* was not widespread in Southern Gaul until the Augustan period, the pre-Augustan Latin conventions may simply have been less attractive to Celtic-named women than men. However, the evidence may also indicate a conservatism or lower social mobility of women, but supporting evidence is required.

¹⁰ RIG II.1 pages 65, 67.

¹¹ I find Stüber's analysis of this name as a *nomen* preceded by a *praenomen* ΟΥΕΝΙΤΟΟΥΤΑ unconvincing (2007 85–86, 87). A lack of appreciation of historical and archaeological context is betrayed by comments such as 'it seems safe to assume that Gaulish inscriptions using the Greek alphabet in the main were written before the Roman conquests' (2007 83).

¹² For women's language choices, see Langslow 2002 28. For women's names in Latin contexts, see Kajava 1994.

7.1.1 New evidence for the Italian connection

The *corpus* of Gallo-Greek inscriptions from Southern Gaul contains virtually nothing other than onomastic evidence and the *dedebratoudekanten* formula. The recently found Gallo-Greek inscription from Velleron (Vaucluse) is therefore unusual in that it provides a verb. Crucially for the argument that contact with the Italian peninsula may have been more intense and influential than hitherto allowed in analyses of Gallo-Greek, the verb is Latin. This Gaulish stele is the only secure instance of a bilingual text involving Gaulish from Southern Gaul (see §6.5.4 for the only other possible instance, which is by no means certain).

The measurements of the stele, provided by David Lavergne, are as follows: height 1.56 m, width at the base 0.55 m, and though no petrological analysis has been carried out, the stone appears to be local.¹³ Further details of the discovery (e.g. archaeological context) are currently unavailable, but it appears to have been found with other similar style anepigraphic stelae.¹⁴ There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the object. The stele matches the inscribed stelae found at sites in the South such as Cavaillon, and notably Glanum, where the triangular summit is paralleled.¹⁵ Stelae of this type are traditionally dated on epigraphic and archaeological grounds to the late second or first century.¹⁶ Bats has now dated the inscription to the second half of the first century, though without giving information as to how he was able to narrow down the chronological range.¹⁷ The minor damage to the stele has left the inscription virtually unscathed (only the final epsilon has been partially damaged) and the writing is large and clear, with no single letter causing any uncertainty. The following reading is based on the analysis of photographs (Figures 6, 7).¹⁸

¹³ I am indebted to David Lavergne (conservateur du patrimoine, SRA) for providing me with details and images of this inscription in 2007. It has now been published by Bats (2011 222–225). The following analysis is my own, written before the publication by Bats, though I have inserted references to Bats's shorter, recent analysis.

¹⁴ Bats does not supply any details of the archaeological context.

¹⁵ For the inscribed stelae with triangular summits, see *RIG I* G-68, 70, 71 (Glanum). G-121 (Cavaillon) should not be included in the series as, despite its presentation in the museum, the triangular top does not fit with the rest. For the complex pattern of monument forms used for Gallo-Greek inscriptions, see Bessac *et al.* 1986 59–62.

¹⁶ *RIG I* page 85. The typology has been designated as essentially Celtic (Bessac *et al.* 1986 62) or as demonstrating Greek or Etruscan origins (e.g. Jacobsthal 1931 212). Whatever its origins, the form does seem to be distinctively 'Celtic' in the context of Southern Gaul in this period.

¹⁷ Bats 2011 222.

¹⁸ Bats presents the same reading (2011 223), though his transcription shows both lunate and non-lunate sigmas. The inscription only contains the lunate sigma.

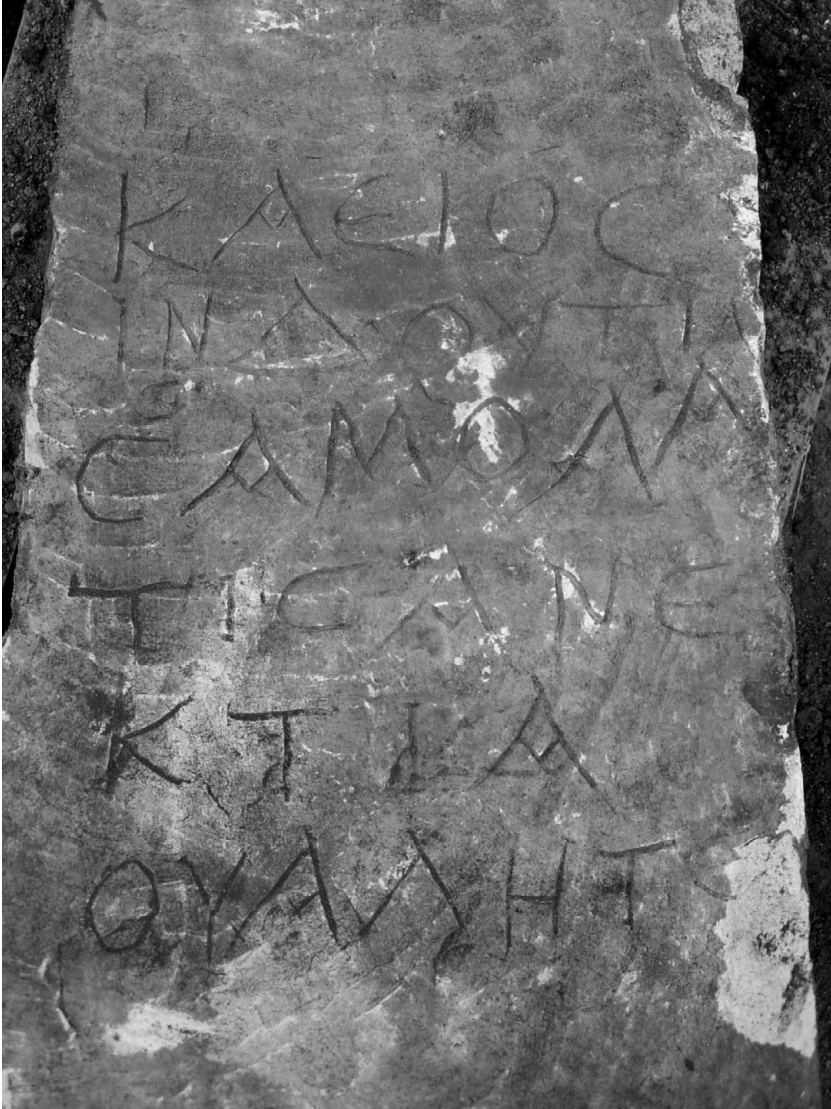


Figure 6 Bats 2011 fig. 33, Velleron.

- (1) KAEIOC
- (2) INΔΟΥΤΙΑ
- (2a) O
- (3) CAMOΛA
- (4) TICANE
- (5) KTIA
- (6) OYAAHTE



Figure 7 Velleron stele on site.

The letters used include the lunate sigma and epsilon and the alpha with angular cross-bar (see §4.2.1). These forms do not contradict the dating, but cannot provide any further precision. Following standard practice in Gallo-Greek, the inscriber has represented /u/ and /w/ with OY. A sign that the author was aware of vowel length is the use of eta to represent the first e-vowel of the Latin verb *ualēte*.¹⁹ The reduced space for the O (line 2a) suggests that this is an interlinear addition. This lends support to the suggestion that the sigma of line 3 might be viewed as acting both as the final letter of the preceding name and the initial of the following, as, although this practice is unparalleled in the Gallo-Greek *corpus*, the interlinear addition suggests the stone-cutter was experiencing technical difficulties. Alternatively, INΔOYTIAO could be a dative, and therefore not require the final /s/; however, the structure of the text and Gallo-Greek *comparanda* suggest that we should view it as a nominative, in which case the loss of final /s/ (if the sigma is not to be read twice) needs to be explained. CAMOΛATIC requires the sigma as AMOΛATIC would be a difficult form to explain. A coincidental find of the same name INΔOYTIAO in a Gallo-Greek graffito from the *oppidum* Constantine (Bouches-du-Rhône) (Bats

¹⁹ Bats argues that the use of eta to mark the long e demonstrates that the choice of Greek letters is deliberate and not the result of a stone-cutter who was not proficient in Latin, saying that an awareness of vowel length displays a deep understanding of both languages (2011 224). This argument demonstrates a confusion of script and language – as we saw in §3.3, bilinguals need not be literate in both languages, indeed Latin epigraphy in this period does not show any indication of length of e vowels. On this evidence, the author clearly spoke Latin but could not necessarily write it. The spelling of the first name, however, may demonstrate some knowledge of Latin orthography, see p. 185.

2004 12) suggests that the loss of /s/ may have been standard for this name (and perhaps others) for reasons unknown to us.²⁰

The format of the inscription appears most likely to be two masculine personal names, KAEIOC INΔOYTIAO, followed by two feminine personal names, CAMOΛATIC ANEKTIA, and a plural Latin verb *ualete* 'farewell'. The names pose several problems. The onomastic evidence in the Gallo-Greek inscriptions consists of either a simple name or a simple name plus patronymic adjective. Do the first two names mark a break in this standard practice and reflect a *duo nomina* formation? In the second and first centuries, the standard system in Latin was the *praenomen* and *nomen*. The first name KAEIOC may be a rendition of the common Latin *praenomen* *Gaius*, written *Caius* in standard Latin orthography, due to the fossilization of the form when /g/ was represented by C.²¹ This would imply some knowledge of conventional Latin orthography on the part of the author of the text.²² The use of EI for I in KAEIOC is explicable as a standard Gallo-Greek rendition (see §4.2.1).²³ The second masculine name INΔOYTIAO fits into a series of names judged to be Celtic but whose etymology remains uncertain.²⁴ The element *Indutio-* is attested in the name of two (probably) different historical characters *Indutiomarus* (*B.G.* 5.3.3 and *Cic. Font.* 12, 13, 21) and numerous epigraphic *comparanda*, including the same formation in *-il(l)us*, from *Gallia Belgica: Indutilli* (*DAG* 206), *Indutillus* (*DAG* 208B) and the aforementioned graffito from Constantine.²⁵ The suffix *-il(l)o/us* is common with Celtic names in Latin, Gallo-Latin and Gallo-Greek.²⁶ The suffix does not seem to be attested with a specifically patronymic function,

²⁰ Lambert 2003a 52 states that the loss of final /s/ is attested in Gaulish in some late texts, but the evidence is rather more complicated and the loss may have occurred earlier, see Marichal 1988 68–70. For the loss and restoration of final /s/ in Latin, see Adams 2007 104, 140–141, Clackson and Horrocks 2007 96.

²¹ In lapidary inscriptions *Caius* and its abbreviated variant are found almost exclusively. See Clackson and Horrocks 2007 96 for spelling conventions.

²² An early manifestation of the confusion in Gallo-Latin in representing the velar stops /k/ and /g/ (Mullen 2007a 34) is less likely, though not impossible.

²³ Bats 2011 223.

²⁴ For discussions of the etymology, see Delamarre 2003 190–191, *GPN* 97–98, *KGN* 226. Compare also EINΔO[Y?]TIOPEIΞ (*RIG* I G-70), with EI for *i* (§4.2.1).

²⁵ Cf. *Itutulte* in an Iberian inscription (*MLH* II B.1.9), which may be an 'Iberianized' version of *Indutillus*, see *MLH* II page 48, Correa 1993 107.

²⁶ E.g. *RIG* I G-4, G-14, G-28, G-154, G-183, G-193, G-207, G-218, G-225, Lambert 2003b G-557. Though diminutive forms may have been preferred in Celtic countries, Kajanto and others may be wrong in assuming that *-il(l)o-* is native to Celtic: 'a certain preference for the diminutive forms in *-illus/la-* in the Celtic countries cannot be denied. This was no doubt due to the fact that there was a similar suffix in Celtic, cf. HOLDER s.v. *-illo-*' (Kajanto 1965 127). The formation is not found in Goedic languages and is likely to have been borrowed from Latin, see Russell 1990 125–131 for details. For the suffix in Latin, see Leumann 1977 306.

but it could be analysed as having a patronymic function here, considering the range of suffixes used in Gallo-Greek. However, this seems unlikely, especially as the suffix is also found followed by patronymic adjectival suffixes, e.g. ΚΟΝΔΙΑΛΕΟC (*RIG I G-207*). The preferable alternative would be to view ΙΝΔΟΥΤΙΑΟ as the character's Gaulish idionym standing for the *nomen* in an attempt to imitate the Latin formula.

The second character, probably female, appears to have a 'traditionally' Gaulish name (see §7.1). The formation seems to be a personal name plus an adjectival patronymic. The segmentation and analysis of CAMOΛATIC are debatable. One option would be to split the name into two elements CAMO- and -ΛATIC. The element CAMO- occurs numerous times in Gaulish (e.g. CAM[O]TALO[C] (*RIG I G-257*)). Three etymological analyses are possible.²⁷ The first connects CAMO- with *Samoni*, the first month in the Coligny calendar, and the Insular Celtic cognates referring to 'summer': **samo-* > Old Irish *sam*, Old Welsh *ham*, Old Breton *ham*.²⁸ The second relates the element to Old Irish *sám* 'calm, peaceful'. The third links the element to the prefix *sam-* in Irish which expresses 'togetherness'. The element -ΛATIC, cognate with Old Irish *láith* 'hero, warrior', is commonly attested in Gaulish personal names e.g. ΕΚΚΕΓΓΟΛΑΤΙ (*RIG I G-13*), ΤΑΝΚ|ΟΛΑΤ|ΙC (*RIG I 72*).²⁹ ΛATIC commonly occurs in masculine names and in Insular Celtic the term predominately has male reference. This raises the question of whether CAMOΛATIC is in fact a masculine name and the following female name is not a patronymic. However, the Gallo-Latin inscription from Coudoux (*RIG II.1 L-2* (Bouches-du-Rhône)) (§4.3) provides a secure instance of the element used in an epitaph to a female: BOVDIL|ATIS · LEMI|SVNIA. Here the element preceding *-latis* is the stem *boudi-* meaning 'victory'.³⁰ Another alternative would be to segment the name into CAMOΛ- and -ATIC. The ending *-atis* is attested in Gaulish both as an ethnic desinence e.g. ΝΑΜΑΥCΑΤΙC (*RIG I G-153*) and in personal names e.g. ΚΑΜΟΥΛΑΤΙ (*RIG I G-67*). CAMOΛ- may be the medicinal plant described in Pliny, whose etymology is probably related

²⁷ For the instances and the etymology, see Delamarre 2003 266, *GPN* 252–253, *KGPN* 264–265, *LEIA* S-19–20. Delamarre also mentions terms in Provençal and 'français dialectal' from a related Gaulish term **samaro-*, **samareton*.

²⁸ For the Coligny calendar, see *RIG III*. For the month, see Delamarre 2003 267, Lambert 2003a 112.

²⁹ For the etymology and *comparanda*, see Delamarre 2003 197–198, *GPN* 216, *KGPN* 229.

³⁰ Delamarre 2003 83–84, *GPN* 156–158, *KGPN* 154. One of the most famous female warriors known under the Roman Empire, *Boudica* (see Aldhouse-Green 2006), comes to mind, reminding us that female warriors existed. However, the discussion in §5.3.1 has underlined the fact that we should perhaps not put too much weight on the exact meanings of names.

to Old Irish *sám* ‘calm, peaceful’.³¹ However, this botanical term is not well known and the segmentation CAMO- -ΛATIC seems preferable. The woman’s second name, ANEKTIA, is probably a standard patronymic adjective in *-ia*. The *comparanda* are less copious than for the previous names, and are not discussed in *GPN*. The stem, however, is probably attested in a graffito on Campanian ware from Cavaillon, approximately 12 kilometres south of Velleron: ANEKTAIAK[(*RIG* I G-124).³² The comparison with Old Irish *anacul* ‘protection’ and *aingid* ‘he protects’ seems secure, and the original meaning of this root may have been ‘accompany, take with’.³³

It could be argued that we are treating four separate characters: KAEIOC, INΔOYTIAO, CAMOΛATIC and ANEKTIA. However, the order of the names, with a possible Latin *praenomen* in first position, and a patronymic in last position, indicates that we are dealing with two. A bipartite naming formula is common in the Gallo-Greek lapidary inscriptions, and the exact formation of female name plus patronymic adjective can be securely attested four times in *RIG* I (G-106, 107, 146, 211), which is not inconsiderable considering the relatively low number of well-understood Gallo-Greek lapidary inscriptions involving women. Furthermore, one of these inscriptions (G-107 (Ventabren), [Figure 8](#)) provides a parallel for the bi-partite naming of both a man and woman. The two sets of names are found on the same cippus, either side of an incised dividing line separating the male (*Ekkaios* son of *Eskingomaros*) and female (*Vim(pi?)lla* daughter of *Adiatussos*).

EKKAIOC	OYIM[]
ECKIN[Γ]O	ΛΛΑ · A
MAPIOC	ΔΙΑΤΟΥC
	CIA

The Velleron inscription is a unique Gallo-Greek text from Southern Gaul, demonstrating the bilingual phenomena of both code-switching and transliteration. As regards the object, script, morphology and, except for the first name, onomastics, the inscription can be identified as Gaulish, and seems to be contemporary with the bulk of the Gallo-Greek inscriptions. The

³¹ Plin. *N.H.* 1.24.63. See also Delamarre 2003 266.

³² It is not certain whether the graffito is complete and the segmentation is controversial, see *RIG* I pages 165–166. Another example may be found at Alise-Sainte-Reine (Côte-d’Or): ANEXTΛO (*RIG* I G-268), see §4.2.1 for the use of X.

³³ For the other epigraphic attestations and etymology, see Delamarre 2003 49, *KGPN* 131, Lambert 2003a 113, *LEIA* A-77. *Anextlomaros* is attested as an epithet of Apollo in Gaul and also in South Shields, Britain (*ANEXTIOMARO* (*RIB* II 2415.55) probably showing a mistake of *I* for *L*, see Aldhouse Green and Raybould 1999 99 note 17, Sims-Williams 2003 64 note 268), see Markey 2003 for a linguistic discussion of this form.



Figure 8 RIG I G-107, Ventabren, Musée de Ventabren.

verb at the end cannot be Gaulish or Greek, but is an accurate transliteration of the Latin verb *ualete* into Gallo-Greek. This final address is an example of code-switching (intra-sentential switching) rather than interference and might be a deliberate ploy on the part of the author to show the Gaulish pair's complicity with the Roman contact culture. It might be argued that the use of the Latin verb *ualete* carries little significance as it is formulaic. However, the form *uale* cannot aptly be described as 'standard, formulaic' Latin epigraphic practice and only six clear instances can be found in *CIL* for *Gallia Narbonensis*.³⁴ The equivalent form χαῖρε is more common in Greek inscriptions, with eleven instances in *IGF* (this is statistically significant: *IGF* contains 169 entries, *CIL* XII c. 6000).³⁵ And yet, perhaps reflecting Greek influence, *uale* appears repeatedly in multicultural centres in Italy such as Rome and Pompeii and Poccetti points out that 'an enormous quantity of Latin inscriptions from the late Republican period onwards attests this practice of imitating oral greeting'.³⁶ We might view the verb, in many cases, as a common, perhaps 'colloquial',³⁷ element in Latin inscriptions and equivalents can also be found in the Italic languages (*ST* Lu 40, MV 6,

³⁴ The instances are: *CIL* XII 1506, 2916, 4039a, 4938, 5686 109 (a and b). Two further instances are uncertain: 4286 *u(ale)*, 4526 [*uale*], the latter should be excluded.

³⁵ The instances are: *IGF* 3, 22, 24, 41, 52, 63, 76, 89, 93, 127, 223. ³⁶ Poccetti 2010b 106.

³⁷ See Poccetti 2010b for a discussion of the colloquial nature of this greeting.

Pg 11).³⁸ Nothing suggests that the author has employed a Greek formula translated into Latin in this Gallo-Greek inscription from Velleron. The most plausible explanation of the code-switch seems to be that the Gaulish author has chosen to use a Latin verb, but has picked one familiar through contact with Italians, rather than a formula more standard for Latin funerary epitaphs.

If the first name is indeed Latin and part of an attempted *duo nomina* formation, the assimilation to Roman culture may run deeper. Bats even suggests that we could view the names as consisting of a male *tria nomina*, KAEIOC INΔOYTIAO CAMOΛATIC, followed by a single female idionym, ANEKTIA, in which case, the man represented on the stele ‘pourrait être alors l’un de ces premiers indigènes ayant accédé à la citoyenneté romaine, mais ayant conservé dans son appellation son identité gauloise’.³⁹ This analysis is not impossible, though, as we have seen, the ordering of the names and the *comparanda* suggest that a *duo nomina* followed by an idionym plus patronymic is the most plausible interpretation.

The code-switching in this inscription, added to the evidence from the Gallo-Greek onomastic record and the proposed origins of the *dedebratoudekanten* formula, as we shall see below, strongly suggest that we are right to revise the conception, particularly predominant in linguistic studies, of a Roman period preceded by a Greek period including Gallo-Greek.⁴⁰ Contacts with the Italian peninsula occurred at least as early as the third century and have a much more substantial role in the creation and development of Gallo-Greek than has hitherto been allowed. The Gallo-Greek evidence can no longer primarily be discussed in terms of interaction with the Massaliote colonies.

7.2 Complex interactions: the *dedebratoudekanten* dossier

Given the absence of bi-version bilingual texts involving Gaulish in Southern France, texts displaying features of language contact are of utmost importance. Both linguistic and extra-linguistic evidence suggests that the *dedebratoudekanten* formula may have been created,⁴¹ at least in part, through contact with non-Celtic linguistic groups. The dossier comprises fourteen inscriptions, all found within the area of Southern Gaul described by Lejeune as containing a ‘grande densité de sites gallo-grecs’ (Map 3). There is

³⁸ See Untermann 2000 823. ³⁹ Bats 2011 225. ⁴⁰ E.g. Stüber 2007.

⁴¹ Lejeune 1976 136 suggests the designation ‘formulaire βρατου’, as BPATOIY is the only element to appear in all the non-fragmentary examples.

no evidence for this formula, even fragmentary, outside this region. Since the appearance of *RIG I* in 1985, the new Gallo-Greek inscriptions, published in articles such as *Compléments gallo-grecs*, have yielded no further examples of the formula.⁴² The interpretation, and particularly the linguistic composition of the formula, have taken on perhaps disproportionate importance due to the rarity of non-onomastic elements in the Gallo-Greek inscriptions.⁴³ However, this formula has generally been regarded as an academic puzzle by Indo-Europeanists, with the result that the sizeable amount of highly specialist literature has been overlooked by archaeologists and historians working on the region. It is surely crucial for their analyses if the only formula attested in the Celtic inscriptions of Southern Gaul shows evidence of language contact. This formula, which can be loosely translated as 'X dedicated a tithe in gratitude / on account of favour', is linguistically Celtic, but has been created based on the influence of the Mediterranean *koine*. An annotated version of the evidence is presented below, followed by a discussion of the possible interpretations of the linguistic nature, origin and significance of the formula.⁴⁴ The transcriptions show some minor differences from those in *RIG*, due to differences in editorial conventions, and *RIG I* G-183 has been revised.

7.2.1 The inscriptional evidence

RIG I G-27 (Figure 9) Stone cippus: Orgon, c. 15 kilometres east of Glanum.⁴⁵ At this site the archaeologists state that 'l'existence d'un sanctuaire gallo-romain ne fait pas de doute'.⁴⁶ Four other inscriptions are listed in *CAG*, two naming the deity Silvanus.⁴⁷

OYHBPOYMAPOC⁴⁸ | ΔΕΔΕ ΤΑΡΑΝΟΟΥ⁴⁹ | ΒΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΜ

⁴² See De Hoz 2005a, Lambert 2003b, Lejeune 1988, 1990a, 1994a, 1995, Lejeune and Lambert 1996.

⁴³ For the non-onomastic evidence, see, for instance, *RIG I* G-13 IMMI, G-153 ΤΟΟΥΤΙΟΥC... ΕΙΩΡΟΥ... COCIN NEMHTON, Lejeune 1994a G-528 ΕΙΩΡΑΙ, possibly also, but enigmatic, *RIG I* G-9, 151 ΚΑΡΝΙΤΟΥ[and 163. Gallo-Latin inscriptions provide considerably more non-onomastic evidence.

⁴⁴ See also Mullen 2008a, 2011b.

⁴⁵ For this inscription, see also *CAG* 13/2 231, Dottin 1920 146–146, Rhys 1906 289–291, Szemerényi 1974 248.

⁴⁶ *CAG* 13/2 230. ⁴⁷ *CAG* 13/2 230–231.

⁴⁸ For the eta, see Lejeune 1968–9 40–43 and Vendryes 1948 195–196. For the personal name, see *GPN* 118–119, 223–228, 272, *KGPN* 238–239, 285. See Gray 1953–4 62–63 for the (generally rejected) suggestion that the first element might be related to *wēb- 'weapon'.

⁴⁹ For *Taranus*, *Taranis*, see Duval 1958 54.



Figure 9 RIG I G-27, Orgon, Musée Calvet, Avignon.

RIG I G-28 (Figure 10) Limestone basin: Saint-Chamas, Calissane, 25 kilometres west of Aix-en-Provence.⁵⁰ Found along with ‘débris d’un lieu de culte’.⁵¹

BPATOU|⁵²
[—]ΠΟΡΕΙΞ⁵³ ΙΟΥΓΙΛΛΙΑΚΟΣ⁵⁴ ΔΕΔΕΒΕΛΕΙΝΟ⁵⁵

⁵⁰ For this inscription, see also CAG 13/1 217–218 no. 051.37*, Lejeune 1968–9 52–59, Szemerényi 1974 248–249.

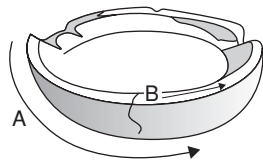
⁵¹ RIG I page 56.

⁵² The vertical line here is on the object, not the editor’s mark of a line break. BPATOU has been positioned above BEΛEINO to indicate the positioning on the basin.

⁵³ For the element *-rix*, see Bolelli and Campanile 1972, GPN 243–249, KGPN 260–261, Lejeune 1982 111–119.

⁵⁴ This is a patronymic in *-IAKOΣ*, see also G-148. See GPN 357–358 for the personal name, and KGPN 227 for *iouco-* / *iougo-* / *iuco-* / *iugo-*.

⁵⁵ For this theonym, see §6.2.2.



A. ΠΟΡΕΙΞΙΟΥΓΙΑΛΙΑΚΟCΔΕΔΕΒΕΛΕΙΝΟ
B. ΒΡΑΤΟΥ

Figure 10 Drawing of *RIG I G-28*, Saint-Chamas, Calissane (indicating the position of the two lines of text) and the text (A and B).



Figure 11 *RIG I G-64*, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux, Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence.

RIG I G-64 (Figure 11) Stone altar: Glanum, at the base of the steps near the spring, beneath a niche with fragments of female statues, near the *Glanicabus* inscription (Rolland 1958a 88).⁵⁶

MATPE|BO ΓΛΑ|NEIKA|BO BPA|TOY ΔΕ|KANTEN

⁵⁶ This inscription probably dates to the first half of the first century (Rolland 1958a 115). For this inscription, see Rolland 1955, 1958a 114, 1960 84, Szemerényi 1974 250.



Figure 12 *RIG I G-65*, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux, Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence.

RIG I G-65 (Figure 12) Stone altar: Glanum, reused in the ‘remblai d’installation’⁵⁷ of the geminate temples (Figure 25).⁵⁸

ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑ ΠΟΚΛΩΙΟΙ⁵⁹ | ΒΠΑΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤ

RIG I G-66 Transcription of an inscription found at Glanum, known through seven versions dated from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. No information is provided as to the type of object and the rest of the inscription is uncertain.⁶⁰

? ΒΠΑΤΟΥ[...]

⁵⁷ *CAG* 13/2 342.

⁵⁸ For this inscription, see Rolland 1955, 1958a 54–55, 1960 84, Szemerényi 1974 249. For the geminate temples, see Gros 1981.

⁵⁹ For the interpretation ‘Les Écouteants’, see Lambert 1997 45–46, Lejeune 1976–8 95–96, 1979 101–102, Schmidt 1979–80 285–286 (ΠΟΚΛΩΙΟΙΑΒΟ < **pro-klēwes-jā-bho*). See Lambert 2003a 46 for the loss of intervocalic /w/.

⁶⁰ For this inscription, see §4.2.3, *CIL* XII page 127 no. 1, *DAG* 39, Dottin 1920 148, Rhys 1906 305–306.



Figure 13 *RIGI G-148, Malaucène, Chapelle Notre-Dame de Groseau.*

RIGI G-148 ([Figure 13](#)) Stone pillar: Malaucène (Groseau), 10 kilometres south-east of Vaison-la-Romaine, reused as a cross base.⁶¹

[...]ΛΟΥC[?] | [...]ΛΙΑΚOC [?] | [...]ΑCΕΛΟΥC[?] | [...]ΑΤΟΥ
ΔΕ|ΚΑΝΤΕΜ

Several restorations of the formula are proposed, including BPATΟΥ ΔΕΔΕ ΚΑΝΤΕΜ or BPATΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΜ. The second option seems the most plausible as the verb (ΔΕΔΕ) is not otherwise attested in the medial position.

⁶¹ For this inscription, see Dottin 1920 147, Rhys 1906 299–302, Szemerényi 1974 249.



Figure 14 *RIG* I G-183, Collias, Musée archéologique de Nîmes.

RIG I G-183 (revised)⁶² (Figure 14) Stone pillar: Collias (Gard), 15 kilometres north-east of Nîmes, reused in a chapel wall.⁶³

⁶² The transcription of the beginning of the formula has been emended and a line break added (omitted in *RIG*).

⁶³ For this inscription, see *DAG* 63, Dottin 1920 159, Rhys 1906 311–313, Szemerényi 1974 247–248.

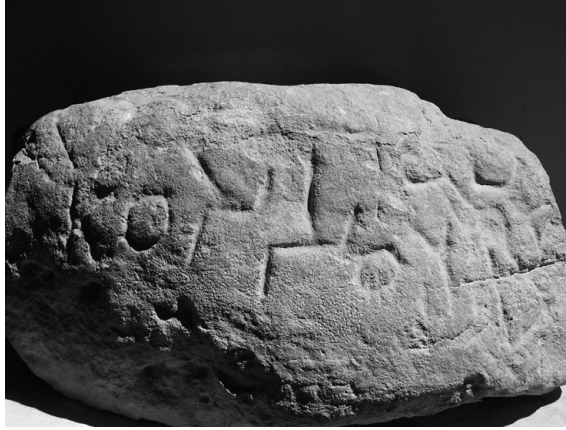


Figure 15 RIG I G-184, Collorgues, Musée archéologique de Nîmes.

ĒKIA|Q|C P[?]OY|MAN[I/E?]|OC AN|ΔOOYNN|NABO⁶⁴
 Δ[E]|⁶⁵Δ<E>BPATQ|[Y] ΔEKAN|TEN

RIG I G-184 (Figure 15) Stone fragment of the upper part of a basin: Collorgues (Gard), 20 kilometres north of Nîmes.⁶⁶ The object was found 'enfoui dans le sol' and apparently 'sans localisation'.⁶⁷

[---]ΔATIAB[---] | KONNOYBP[---]

RIG I G-202 (Figure 16) Part of a stone monument (according to CAG 'sans doute un autel en calcaire',⁶⁸ though the shape does not seem obviously suitable): Montmirat (Gard), 20 kilometres west of Nîmes.⁶⁹ Found on the promontoire du Castellat, the site of a sanctuary. Dedications found in the vicinity include an altar to a *Mater* which the editors have viewed as an indigenous goddess, an altar with an image of Mercury and an altar to Jupiter (represented with the wheel) with the inscription [*fulgur*] *conditum*.⁷⁰

BPATQYT[---]

Szemerényi (1974) rejects the previously established interpretation that BPATQYT represents an assimilation of *t...d > t...t*.⁷¹ Instead he prefers

⁶⁴ For possible interpretations of the form ANΔOOYNNABO, see De Bernardo Stempel 1989, Lambert 1990 197–199, 1997 46, Lejeune 1982 107–111.

⁶⁵ This line divider may come before the [E], as the pillar is fragmentary on both sides.

⁶⁶ For this inscription, see DAG 65, Dottin 1920 158, Rhys 1906 310.

⁶⁷ CAG 30/2 334. ⁶⁸ CAG 30/3 472.

⁶⁹ For this inscription, see DAG 66, Dottin 1920 157, Szemerényi 1974 250–251.

⁷⁰ CAG 30/3 472. ⁷¹ See, for example, Lejeune 1968–9 57.



Figure 16 RIG I G-202, Montmirat, Musée archéologique de Nîmes.



Figure 17 RIG I G-203, Nîmes, Musée archéologique de Nîmes.

to view the second tau as the beginning of a subject e.g. *touta* or *Toutios*.⁷² Lejeune notes that the subject after BPATTOY is unparalleled and reconstructs *BPATTOYTON, also unparalleled, a derivative of *bratu-* in -to- ‘offert par reconnaissance’.⁷³

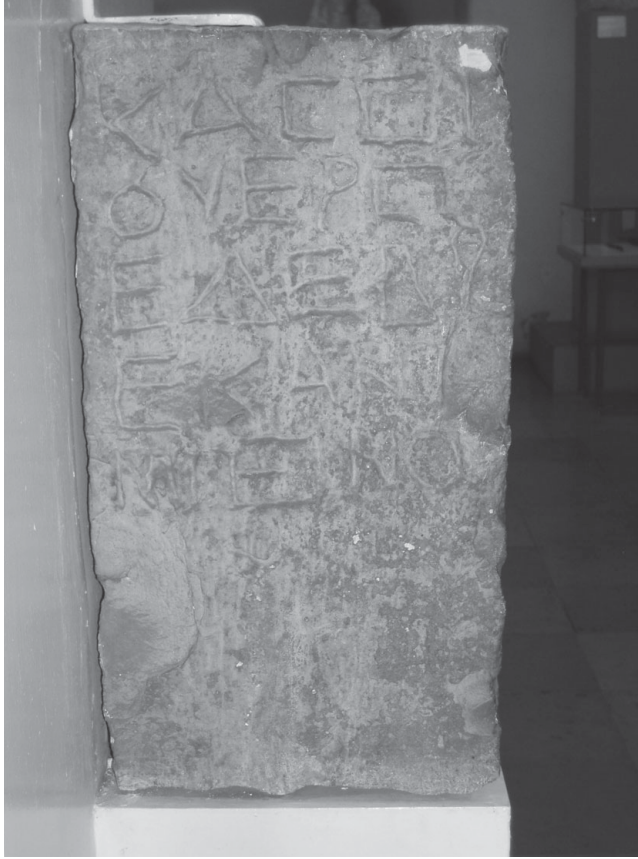
RIG I G-203 (Figure 17) Abacus of a Doric capital: Nîmes, temple of the fountain.⁷⁴

[.]APTAP[OC I]ΛΛΑΝΟΥΙΑΚΟΞ⁷⁵ ΔΕΔΕ | MATPEBO
NAMAYΣIKABO BPATOY ΔE[KA?]

⁷² Szemerényi 1974 250–251. ⁷³ Lejeune 1976 143, RIG I page 272.

⁷⁴ The writing of both RIG I G-203 and 214 is dated by Bats to the second half of the first century BC to the second century AD (1988a 131–132). For this inscription, see *CIL* XII page 383 no. 1, DAG 67, Dottin 1920 155, IAN 43, Lejeune 1994b 10–11, Rhys 1906 306–307, Szemerényi 1974 248.

⁷⁵ See GPN 354 for this name, which is relatively well attested.



(a)

Figure 18 *a and b* RIG I G-206, Nîmes, Musée archéologique de Nîmes.

No letters are obviously missing at the end, though the same stone-cutter ends the formula ΔEKA at Saint-Côme-et-Maruéjols (G-214).⁷⁶

RIG I G-204 Part of a dedication, known only through an eighteenth-century transcription and engraving: Nîmes, temple of the fountain. Lejeune only accepts the formulaic part of the inscription and emends the letters AEF > ΔEK. No information as to the type of object is provided.⁷⁷

[?] | [?]ΔEΔE[...] | [--- BPAT]OY ΔEΞANTEN

This evidence should be used with extreme caution as the transcription shows a strange mixture of Latin and Greek letters. However, the ΔEΔE

⁷⁶ Evans (*GPN* 328–329) urges caution in reading this inscription.

⁷⁷ For this inscription, see *CIG* 6788e, *DAG* 73, Dottin 1920 158, Lejeune 1994b 10–13, Rhys 1906 313–314, Szemerényi 1974 248.



(b)

Figure 18 (cont.)

portion does seem to be clear on the transcription, and the formula is already attested in the Gallo-Greek inscriptions from Nîmes.

RIGI G-205 Abacus of a capital, known only from a transcription: Nîmes, temple of the fountain.⁷⁸

[---] Σ | [---] ANTEN

This abacus has been reused for a Latin inscription *CN.FLEPO[S] | [?] VSLM*, only one side with Gaulish remains.

RIGI G-206 (Figures 18a and b) Stone pillar: Nîmes, rue de la Lampèze.⁷⁹ Found by chance in 1876 around 600 metres to the east of the sanctuary of the fountain. Lejeune states that the evidence available does not allow us

⁷⁸ For this inscription, see *DAG* note 14 bis, *CIL* XII 3044.

⁷⁹ For this inscription, see *DAG* 68, Dottin 1920 155–156, *IAN* 58, Lejeune 1994b 10–11, Rhys 1906 307–309, Szemerényi 1974 247.



Figure 19 RIG I G-214, Saint-Côme-et-Maruéjols, Musée archéologique de Nîmes.

to judge whether the pillar was found where it was originally displayed or whether it had been moved from the sanctuary of the fountain.⁸⁰

KACCI|TAAOC⁸¹ | OYEP|KNOC⁸² Δ|ΕΔΕ BP|ATOY Δ|EKANT|EN
AA|A|EINO|YI

RIG I G-214 (Figure 19) Abacus of a Doric capital: Saint-Côme-et-Maruéjols (Gard), 15 kilometres west of Nîmes, reused in the foundations of a wall.⁸³

[— —]ΑΔΡΕΣΣΙΚΝΟΣ⁸⁴ | [— — O]YI BPATOY ΔΕΚΑ

7.2.2 Linguistic analysis of the formula

The *scriptura continua* of the inscriptions poses problems for the interpretation of this formula.⁸⁵ ΔΕΔΕ has always been taken as a complete word, though the segmentation of BPATOYΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ has been controversial. At first, the break was made between BPATOYΔΕ and ΚΑΝΤΕΝ, perhaps motivated by the presence of *CANTALON* in a Gallo-Latin inscription from Auxey (Côte d’Or (RIG II.1 L-9)), meaning either ‘pillar, circular

⁸⁰ Lejeune 1994b 11.

⁸¹ See GPN 65 for the name and GPN 167–171, KGPN 165–66 for *Cassi-* / *Casses-*; see GPN 259–261, KGPN 274 for *Talo-*.

⁸² For the name, see GPN 122–123.

⁸³ For the inscription, see CIL XII page 388, DAG 71, Dottin 1920 157–158, IAN 564, Rhys 1906 311, Szemerényi 1974 249–250.

⁸⁴ For the name, see GPN 47–48. For *Ad-*, see GPN 128–131, KGPN 111–117; for *res(s)-* / *reds-* / *ret(t)-* / *rit(t)-* / *rest-* / *rot(t)-*, see GPN 249–251, KGPN 258.

⁸⁵ The word order demonstrates that, although the position of the dative is flexible, it never splits BPATOY and ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ, which, if both appear, always appear together (Lejeune 1976 137). ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ may be abbreviated (ΔΕΚΑΝΤ, ΔΕΚΑ, ΔΕ?) or absent, but BPATOY always remains complete (Lambert 1996 90–91).

monument', or 'song, chant'.⁸⁶ In 1974 Szemerényi segmented the phrase differently, as ΔΕΔΕ ΒΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ, eliciting widespread praise but creating a strained relationship with the great Indo-Europeanist Lejeune.⁸⁷ In recent years, Lejeune's pupil, Lambert, has tried to reanalyse the formula, seeing in ΒΡΑΤΟΥΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ a possible compound, translated as 'en remerciement, en accomplissement du vœu'.⁸⁸

Most scholars accept Szemerényi's interpretation, and merely attempt to clarify the exact formations involved, resolutely avoiding any discussion of the linguistic and cultural contacts. However, Szemerényi's analysis includes a strong statement on the cultural contacts behind the adoption of the formula, which he states was created through contact with the Massaliote Greeks, who used the Greek formula (ἄννα)θεῖναι δεκάτην. His original hypothesis was that the formula 'is not indigenous but transplanted from the Classical world, down to the smallest detail'.⁸⁹ Indeed, in an article in 1991 he even alters his original thesis of 1974 by stating that ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ cannot be a Gaulish accusative of **dekantā* and that 'we cannot escape the conclusion that *dekantem/-en* is simply the Greek (Ionic-Attic) acc. δεκάτην, with only a slight adjustment to the Gaulish ordinal (-*nt-*) and the Gaulish case-ending (-*m*, later -*n*)'.⁹⁰ He describes the form as 'not a calque [. . .] but the Greek form which was adopted with only the slightest concessions to the native **dekantā*'.⁹¹ It is not entirely clear what Szemerényi means by 'slightest concessions', and Lejeune is right to question exactly what sort of borrowing process is involved.⁹² δεκάτην is unlikely to have been borrowed directly into Gaulish as ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ. The problem is not the second epsilon, since eta and epsilon were interchangeable in Gallo-Greek inscriptions (§4.2.1),

⁸⁶ See Delamarre 2003 103.

⁸⁷ 'As far as I can see the only dissentient voice has rather surprisingly come from Michel Lejeune, surprisingly because the paper was dedicated to him; but perhaps it was my mistake to trespass on his special domain, and venture to offer a solution that he had failed to glimpse' (Szemerényi 1991 304).

⁸⁸ Lambert 1996 91. For the complete exposé, see 1996 88–91, and for a résumé, 1997 48. The *comparandum* adduced for the formation (predicative object, the first member **bratu-* followed by a second based on a root **dek-* (Old Irish *dech* 'the best')) is the toponym *Bratuspantium* (Caes. B.G. 2.13.2), which has been analysed as 'l'endroit où l'on dit des vœux', namely, **bratu-* plus **sek^w* in the same -*nt-* formation (Holder I *Bratu-spantium* and III *Bratusp-ant-ium* and Guyonvarc'h 1962a 167–173, 1962b 609–614). Semantically the formation seems dubious: 'l'emploi de ce mot implique que le vœu est pleinement réalisé par le dédicant, jusqu'au degré maximal de qualité' (Lambert 1996 90). Similarly, Lambert proposes an implausible morphological formation: 'neutre th. en -*nt-*, à l'instrumental singulier – ou éventuellement acc. sg. de masculin th. en -*nt-*' (Lambert 1996 90, see De Bernardo Stempel 1999 431–436 for participial compounds in *-*nt-* in Old Irish).

⁸⁹ Szemerényi 1974 283. ⁹⁰ Szemerényi 1991 310. ⁹¹ Szemerényi 1991 310.

⁹² Lejeune 1994c 175–178. De Bernardo Stempel 2006 48 rightly states that it cannot be a loan-word from Greek, though only the first of her three reasons is valid.

but rather the insertion of the first nu; there is no reason why the process of integration or nativization of this loan-word would include the addition of a nasal before a stop in a Celtic language (§3.1.2).

Archaeologists and historians are currently unable to use the analysis of this formula, as the literature is a minefield of complexity and none of the linguists has attempted to analyse Szemerényi's view of the cultural contacts associated with the creation of the phrase. The linguistic components of this formula will now be considered in conjunction with the extra-linguistic material to provide a statement on the nature of the formula, whose importance for studies of Southern Gaul is unquestionable.

7.2.3 ΔΕΔΕ

D'Arbois de Jubainville suggested that the words ΔΕΔΕ MATPEBO NAMAYΣIKABO of the Nîmes inscription (*RIG I G-203*) were Latin, ΔΕΔΕ being a dialectal form of *dedit*.⁹³ Later scholars advocated the Celticity of the form,⁹⁴ and took it to be cognate with either Latin *dedit* and Oscan (grouped with Latin in the Italic group of Indo-European languages) *deded*,⁹⁵ or the perfect of 'placed, offered' < **d^hed^heh₁*.⁹⁶ Semantically either of the roots **deh₃* 'give' or **d^heh₁* 'place, put' suit the notion of dedication. In terms of parallels, Latin has *decuma facta* in the ablative absolute, with forms of *dare* as the main verb, which reflects the former, as does Oscan *deded brateis datas*, whereas Greek uses (ἀν)θεῖναι with δεκάτην which reflects the latter, though it also employs the verb διδόναι (**deh₃*) with lexemes relating to χάρις.

Therefore, we are reliant on morphological arguments in deciding between **d^heh₁* and **deh₃*. Szemerényi derives Lepontic *TETU*⁹⁷ (the Lugano alphabet uses voiceless stops to represent all stops) from **de-dō-* and describes as 'very improbable'⁹⁸ the suggestion that ΔΕΔΕ is the same formation but 'in place of the final vowel of the root, which had coalesced with the personal ending, the normal personal ending was attached'.⁹⁹ He prefers the formation of ΔΕΔΕ from **d^he-d^hē-* < **d^heh₁*. However, *ē* > *ī* in Gaulish in at least certain environments, and the evidence from Larzac (*RIG II.2 L-98*) of *matir* < *mātēr*, suggest that the expected form would be

⁹³ D'Arbois de Jubainville 1903 173–177. Cf. *CIL I* 62, 169, 180.

⁹⁴ See, for instance Dottin 1920 37, Rhys 1906 290.

⁹⁵ For Oscan *deded*, see, for instance, *ST Po.* 3 (Vetter 1953 no. 11).

⁹⁶ See Holder I *de-de*. For Indo-European reduplication, see Niepokuj 1997, see also Meiser 2003 for reduplication in Latin and 105–106 for the paradigm *dare*.

⁹⁷ *TETU* is found in the fifth-century Prestino inscription, see Lejeune 1971 452–467.

⁹⁸ Szemerényi 1974 281. ⁹⁹ Thurneysen 1946 428.

***dedi*, though the development of secondary long *e* from $\bar{e} + e$ may not have been identical phonologically and/or orthographically from the reflex of the original long *e*. Bammesberger proposes two possible forms for the perfect of $*d^heh_1$, the first based on an o-grade ($*d^he-d^hoh_1-$), the second on the zero grade ($*d^he-d^hh_1-$).¹⁰⁰ The Lepontic form could be based on the o-grade $> *de-d\bar{o}-e$, but the Gaulish form on the reduced grade $*deda-$ plus endings.¹⁰¹ However, these formations do not advance the discussion on the root, as $*deh_3$ would produce exactly the same forms: $*de-doh_3-e > ded\bar{o}-e$, $*de-dh_3-e > deda-e$ and it is not clear that such a parallel development is likely.¹⁰²

The absence of the verb in uncompounded form in every other area of Gaul, where verbs such as *ieuru* or *a(u)uot* are employed,¹⁰³ is generally ignored, but significant since it adds to the specificity of the formula.¹⁰⁴ The compounded verb is possibly attested in two Gallo-Latin inscriptions. The first attestation occurs in a graffito on an *olla* from Saint-Marcel near Argenton-sur-Creuse (*Argentomagus*) in Indre, Central France:]VIIR-COBRIITOS RIIADDAS (*RIG* II.2 L-78). The find-spot, a ditch dated to c. AD 40, contained a considerable amount of animal remains and broken vessels, suggesting a ritual banquet. The script has *II* for *E* and the first attested word is *uercobretos*, the name of the magistracy described by Caesar at *B.G.* 1.16.5.¹⁰⁵ Presumably the name of the magistrate would have filled

¹⁰⁰ Bammesberger 1992.

¹⁰¹ Bammesberger does not explain the motivation behind the generalization of the reduced grade in Gaulish.

¹⁰² In a recent electronic Proto-Celtic and English dictionary (<http://www.wales.ac.uk/documents/external/cawcs/PCI-MoE.pdf>) the form $*de-d-e$ (pf.) is cited as 'put'. The editors of *LIV* demonstrate the complexity, opting for $*deh_3$ in the first edition, but $*d^heh_1$ in the second, citing Rubio Orecilla 1999. De Bernardo Stempel 2005 194 prefers $*deh_3$.

¹⁰³ For *ieuru* and variant forms, see Lambert 1979, Lejeune 1980, 1994c 178–180, Lejeune and Marichal 1976–7 152–154, Schmidt 1986 176, Szemerényi 1991 305 note 4, Whatmough 1949 9–10; for *a(u)uot*, see Prósper 2006, *RIG* II.2 pages 33–72, Whatmough 1949 10.

¹⁰⁴ The only Insular Celtic evidence for the uncompounded root $*d\bar{o}-$ is Irish *dán*, Welsh *dawn* 'gift', see Lejeune *et al.* 1985 160.

¹⁰⁵ Lambert wrongly asserts that all the epigraphic attestations of this word appear with *C* not *G*, see *RIG* II.2 page 204 for a list of examples. For *CIL* XIII 1048 (Saintes) it is impossible to tell. One coin legend includes this word: Obv. *SIMISSOS · PVBLICOS · LIXOVIO* Rev. *VERCOBRETO · CISIAMBOS · CATTO* (*RIG* IV 226). For the etymology of *uerg/cobretos*, see Fleuriot 1981 95–96. For a discussion of the attestations and the possible dual form in the Lixovian coin legend, see Lejeune 1985b, Lewuillon 2002 247–249. According to Caesar, the *uergobretus* was annually elected and had power of life and death over his fellows '*qui creatur annuus et uitae necisque in suos habet potestatem*'. Later, the office seems to have been associated with that of the *quaestor*; see Cunliffe 1997 231–232, Drinkwater 1983 108, Jullian 1908–26 IV 336–343, Lewuillon 2002.

the preceding *lacuna*. Numerous interpretations have been proposed for the form *readdas*.¹⁰⁶ Fleuriot opts for a formation *re* (a reduced form of *ro*)¹⁰⁷ plus **azd-* 'burn', though the *olla* could not have been used as an incinerator.¹⁰⁸ Sims-Williams suggests a formation **pro-ed* (*ed* being the neuter infixed pronoun) plus a root cognate with Old Irish *ásaid* 'grows', though semantically this too is weak.¹⁰⁹ Meid views the formation as two preverbs *re-* and *ad-* plus the zero grade **d^hh₁* or **sth₂-*.¹¹⁰ Lambert selects **d^hh₁* and compares Old Irish *do-rat* 'he has given' < **to-pro-ad-d^hh₁*.¹¹¹ Schrijver translates the form 'has given this', preferring a formation with the infixed pronoun *readdas* < **(p)ro-e(d)-ad-da-s-t*.¹¹² He notes that the root involved could be either **d^hh₁* or **dh₃*.¹¹³

The second attestation is *rodatim* in the Larzac lead tablets (*RIG* II.2 L-98 2a line 7). Lejeune reconstructs the proto-form **(p)ro-d^hē/e* and compares Greek *προ(σ)τίθημι*, Latin *proficiscor*, Welsh *rhoddi*, Breton *rei*, Old Irish *do-rat* and the hydronym *Condate*.¹¹⁴ He describes *rodatim* as an agent noun equivalent to Welsh *rhoddiad* 'he who gives'. Schmidt views the formation as a *to*-participle < **pro-d^hh₁-tā*.¹¹⁵ Some debate has occurred over the root and formation underlying Old Irish *do-rat*, presumably because the roots **d^heh₁* and **deh₃* are conflated in Insular Celtic.¹¹⁶ There were probably two stages in the process of merger, one the loss of the aspiration > **deh₁* and **deh₃*, the other the development of both laryngeals into *-a-*. Considering our inability to assign with certainty Gaulish *readdas*, *rodatim* and ΔΕΔΕ to either of the roots as they would produce the same reflexes, it is possible that the roots may have already merged by the time of the Continental Celtic evidence.

The creators of this formula should not be lost behind the linguistic acrobatics. Indeed, the semantic force of the root created through the merger of **d^heh₁* and **deh₃* may simply have been one of 'dedicating', and the

¹⁰⁶ See Fleuriot 1981 96–97, *RIG* II.2 pages 204–205.

¹⁰⁷ For instances of this *ro-* form, see Fleuriot 1981 97–98.

¹⁰⁸ Fleuriot 1981 97. Eska 1990 9–10 note 19 proposes an athematic *s*-aorist factitive in *-ā-* meaning "made burnt", i.e. "sacrificed".

¹⁰⁹ Sims-Williams 1984 190 note 22. ¹¹⁰ Meid 1992 19. For *ad-*, see Thurneysen 1946 344.

¹¹¹ Lambert 2003a 140, revised views at Lambert 2001 465–466, *RIG* II.2 204.

¹¹² Schrijver 1997 178–179. ¹¹³ De Bernardo Stempel 2005 194 plumps for the latter.

¹¹⁴ Lejeune *et al.* 1985 160. ¹¹⁵ Schmidt 1996 32.

¹¹⁶ Thurneysen 1946 claims *do-rat* is formed on the stem **d^hh₁*, though see Schumacher 2004 265–267 (s.v. **dā-* 'geben'). There seems to be more consensus on *rhoddi*, Lejeune states emphatically that 'il n'y a plus maintenant aucun doute: gall. *rhoddi* n'a rien à faire avec la rac. **dō-* "donner"' (Lejeune *et al.* 1985 160), see Schumacher 2004 278–281 (s.v. **dī-* 'setzen'). The phonological developments in Latin and Greek allow the roots to remain clearly differentiated.

7.2.4 BPAT0Y

The analysis of BPATOY as cognate with Oscan *brateis* and *bratom* and Latin *gratia* has gained adherents since receiving the support of Szemerényi in 1974.¹²⁴ The Oscan form occurs, or can be reconstructed, as *brateis datas* twelve times;¹²⁵ this is a genitive of rubric meaning ‘on account of

¹²⁵ ST Pg 4, 6, MV 5, Hi 5, Si 3, Sa 26 (the *datas* is totally reconstructed here), 59, 60, Lu 14, 15, 16, 64.

favour granted'¹²⁶ and often appears with a main verb *deded*. *brateis* is also found in the *Tabula Bantina* in the phrase *brateis auti cadeis amnud* 'for the sake of enmity or friendship', showing that semantically the referent can either be divine or human favour.¹²⁷ Pisani viewed the form *brateis* as a genitive of the *o*-stem *brato*-, Szemerényi as an *i*-stem noun, and Rix as a consonant stem noun, alongside a Latin consonant stem *grātēs*.¹²⁸ Following Rix, *bratom*, which occurs in the Oscan inscriptional record twice, once with *pam* and once with *esot*, would be the accusative singular feminine form of the consonant stem, as *pam* requires, though neither of the forms *pam* and *esot* are securely attested, and *esot* remains somewhat obscure.¹²⁹

The Italic evidence indicates that several formations have been built on the **g^wṛh₂-t-* root, e.g. *grates*, *gratus*, *gratuitus*, *gratia*, *brateis*. Studies into the chronological development of such forms are complex and an independent Gaulish formation would not be unexpected in the circumstances.¹³⁰ Szemerényi argues that Gaulish BPAT_{TOY} is derived from an Indo-European instrumental **g^wrātō*, and means 'gratefully, in gratitude'.¹³¹ Lejeune rightly points out that the option of an ablative origin (< **-ōd*) should not have been excluded; it is possible, for instance, that final dental stops may have been lost in Gaulish after a long vowel, i.e. the opposite of the fate of the final stop in *legasit* (RIG II.2 L-79), or that in Gaulish the ablative was generalized at the expense of the instrumental. Furthermore, Lejeune notes that we should not necessarily expect an *o*-stem noun in *-tos*, a *u*-stem noun in *-tus* is also possible. In favour of the *-tus* stem Lejeune cites semantic plausibility, Latin *gratuitus* and the toponym *Bratuspantium*, though he concedes that the etymology is controversial.¹³² A Gallo-Latin inscription on stone found recently at Nasium (Naix-aux-Forges, Meuse) provides further evidence of the root: *BRATVLOS | IEVRV RATII | NASIIIA*.¹³³ The dedicator appears to have a name based on the *brat(u/o)-* root, with a suffix *-ul(l)os* which is found in other Gaulish names, e.g. *Smertullos*, though this offers little assistance with the morphology or etymology of the root.

Neither the root **b^her-* based on *comparanda* from the Insular Celtic languages, nor the root **g^werH-* based on the same *comparanda* and the Italic forms can be proven as the root of BPAT_{TOY}. However, the comparison with Oscan and Latin personal names *Grat-* and *Brat-* may support the latter and this is strengthened by the fact that the only instance of the Celtic name

¹²⁶ Szemerényi 1974 258. ¹²⁷ ST Lu 1.

¹²⁸ Pisani 1964 52, 56, Rix 2000, Szemerényi 1974 256–265. See also Untermann 2000 149–151.

¹²⁹ ST Pg 4, Lu 39. ¹³⁰ For a detailed study, see Rix 2000.

¹³¹ Szemerényi 1974 265. ¹³² Lejeune 1976 141–142.

¹³³ Burnand and Lambert 2004 688 translate 'Bratulos a offert le gué de Nasium.'

Bratoni is found in the form *Q(uintus) Bratoni* *Gratus* (AE 1955 36).¹³⁴ Of course, as stated in the conclusion to ΔΕΔΕ, the exact etymology of BPATOY from an Indo-European perspective may be immaterial. In this case, as before, the comparison with Oscan *brateis* is particularly striking. The Latin formula may have a parallel lexeme in *merito*, if it can be linked, at least semantically, and may have a closer parallel, *gratulor*, based on the **g^werH-* root in an early example from Plautus.¹³⁵ The Greek formula yields no *comparandum*.

7.2.5 ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ

Before the new segmentation by Szemerényi in 1974, several analyses of KANTEN were proposed.¹³⁶ Szemerényi's new interpretation of the formula provided the first satisfactory solution. The segmentation ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ allowed an analysis of the lexeme as meaning 'tithe', a form of dedication commonly found in Greek inscriptions as δεκάτη and in the Latin *corpus* as *decuma*.¹³⁷ Szemerényi's original interpretation of the accusative form ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ in the Gaulish inscriptions was < **dekantm*,¹³⁸ a consonant-stem ending borrowed into the *ā*-stem.¹³⁹ He compares the Old Irish accusative of 'tribe' < *toutā*, namely *tuaith* < *toutem*, which may be formed

¹³⁴ See Mullen 2008a 257 for this suggestion; Meissner 2009–10 discusses this idea, but without reference to Mullen 2008a.

¹³⁵ *Hercules, decumam esse adauctam tibi quam uoui gratulor* (Plaut. *Stich.* 386) 'I rejoice, Hercules, that the tithe which I vowed to you has increased.' The use of *gratulor* may be a play on an original formula in early Latin more similar to the Oscan *datas brateis*, though this is pure speculation.

¹³⁶ See RIG I pages 55–56 and Szemerényi 1974 266–267. Options included an equivalent to *libens* based on a root **kā*, an accusative of the votive object either circular (**camb-tos*) (Holder I *kantena*) or 'something erected' (Irish *cet*). A resemblance to Old Irish *cét* 'first' and Welsh *cynt* 'recently, before', encouraged Rhys and Gray to translate the formula as '*dedit ex voto* (or *ex imperio*) *primitias*' (Gray 1953–4 63 and Rhys 1905 104, 1906 290–291). The attested forms in Gaulish are *cintus*, *cintux*, *cintusmos*, and Insular Celtic suggests a form with *cint-* or *cent-* but not *cant-*.

¹³⁷ See Lazzarini 1976 90–93 for details of the meaning, contexts and temporal and geographical spread of the votive instances of δεκάτη. See Liebenam 1901 for Latin *decuma*. Surrendering a tenth of possessions or booty as a dedication or tax is attested in several branches of Indo-European, e.g. Germanic, Italic, Greek and Celtic, and many non-Indo-European cultures.

¹³⁸ The main Celtic terms are based on the form **dekameto-*: Gaulish *decametos* (La Graufesenque: RIG II.2 L-29.1, 10, page 108), Celtiberian *TeCameTinas* (MLH IV K.1.1 A8 (Botorrita)), *TeCameTam* (K.1.1 A10), Old Irish *dechmad*, Welsh *degfed*. For possible forms in Insular Celtic based on **deknto-*, see Motta 1993b and Szemerényi 1960 169–171. For the development of the cardinal and ordinal forms of 'ten' in Indo-European, see Szemerényi 1960, especially 67–114.

¹³⁹ For the first declension in Celtic, see Lejeune 1985a 88–94.

in a similar way, though other options are possible.¹⁴⁰ The main opposition to this analysis is that the accusative of the $\bar{a}$ -stems is attested as *-an* in Gaulish, possibly at Saignon in Gallo-Greek MATIKAN (*RIG* I G-151) and at Todi in Gallo-Etruscan LOKAN (*RIG* II.1 E-5), and, later, through analogy with the $\bar{i}\bar{a}$ -stems, as *-im* at Larzac, e.g. *Seuerim Tertionichnim* (*RIG* II.2 L-98).¹⁴¹ An alternative might be to see the ending as a consonant accusative stem ending ($\bar{m} > am > em / en$) of a consonant stem noun,¹⁴² as in *materem* (Larzac *RIG* II.2 L-98).¹⁴³

Following the analysis of a consonant-stem ending, however, two different reflexes of the syllabic nasals exist within the same word (AN and EN), and because of this ΔEKANTEN is perhaps the most studied word in the Gaulish corpus, though in fact simple solutions have been missed. The reflexes of syllabic nasals are generally described as showing *a*-vocalism in Gaulish, Celtiberian and Brittonic, and *e*-vocalism in Goidelic and Lepontic. This feature became of central importance, alongside the reflex of the voiceless labio-velar, for grouping the Celtic language family. However, not only are both features hardly diagnostic for the Celtic family grouping, but the evidence for the syllabic nasals is far from clear-cut. The etymology of the Lepontic evidence: *SITES* < *side*^ts < *sidens* < *sid̥ns* is not assured,¹⁴⁴ and Gaulish shows possible evidence of *en*, e.g. **grennos* (Old French *grenon* 'little beard', Provençal *gren* 'moustache'),¹⁴⁵ **brennos* 'bran, husks', (Provençal *bren*, cf. Welsh *bran*),¹⁴⁶ and the month-name *Elembiu* (Coligny calendar *RIG* III) < **el̥nbho-*.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, the Irish evidence is complex, with *a*-vocalism in certain environments.¹⁴⁸ McCone argues that the change $\bar{m} > am$ is a Proto-Celtic development and that Irish and Continental Celtic

¹⁴⁰ Such as a development of the vocalism $\bar{a} > a > e$, see Lejeune 1984 136.

¹⁴¹ For a discussion of the various proposed endings, see Lambert 1997 46–48.

¹⁴² For a consonant stem noun, cf. δεκάς 'group of ten' or 'ten' in Greek, which is glossed as an equivalent of δεκάτη in Hesychius, see DGE 901–902.

¹⁴³ The hypothesis of a fifth declension in *-ēs* is unlikely as $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$ in final syllables, as seen in *-rīx* (Lejeune 1984 134–135). Bammesberger 1995 argues that the ending *-em* is an analogical substitution from the $\bar{e}$ -stems into the $\bar{a}$ -stems. Similarly, the hypothesis of a formation in *-ti* by De Bernardo Stempel (1984, 1987 105) has been rejected by Szemerényi 1991 307–308 on semantic and orthographic grounds (a spelling *tīm/tin* would be expected, cf. *Ucuetin* (*RIG* II.1 L-13)) and now by herself (De Bernardo Stempel 2006 48). Her recent attempt to interpret ΔEKANTEN 'as a religious formula imported into the Narbonensis from the directly adjoining Ligurian world' (2006 48) can be questioned (see §1.3.1; the evidence for the development $\bar{y}o > e$ is either doubtful (her sections 5 and 7) or retains the $\bar{y}$ (her section 1)).

¹⁴⁴ See De Bernardo Stempel 1987 165–166, Uhlich 1999.

¹⁴⁵ See De Bernardo Stempel 1987 119–120, Delamarre 2003 183.

¹⁴⁶ See De Bernardo Stempel 1987 151. ¹⁴⁷ See De Bernardo Stempel 1987 163.

¹⁴⁸ For a detailed discussion of the reflexes of syllabic nasals (and liquids) in Celtic, see De Bernardo Stempel 1987.

languages which display *em* / *im* have undergone a process of pre-nasal vowel raising in the post-Proto-Celtic period.¹⁴⁹ This is a significant departure from the suggestion that Goidelic branched off from the other Celtic languages when *n̥* and *m̥* were unaltered, and the theory has been well received, though detractors argue that cross-declensional influences cannot be ruled out. This theory removes the problem of the reflexes of the nasals in ΔEKANTEN. It is possible that in certain positions, e.g. word finally versus medially, the vowel shift may have occurred more quickly,¹⁵⁰ or there may have been divergences depending on the lexeme. Another simple solution which removes the problem of the double reflex of the nasals in the consonant stem reconstruction is that the ending might be an early attestation of the first phase of the development of the *ā*-stem *-ām* > *-am* > *-em*, which was followed by a secondary phase of analogical borrowing from the *iā*-stems.¹⁵¹

A further option involves a link with the Gaulish ordinal *decametos* attested in the La Graufesenque graffiti.¹⁵² It is possible that the formation *-metos* could be seen to underlie ΔEKANTEN. The argument would run that in the case of the creation of a noun designating a ‘tithe’ rather than a ‘tenth’, a feminine form rather than the masculine has been used, i.e. **dekametā*, as attested in Celtiberian *TeCameTam* (MLH IV K.1.1, A10). Following this formation, the syncope of the second *e*-vowel in Gaulish ΔEKANTEN but not *decametos* would need to be explained. We could surmise that the syncope has not occurred in the ‘tenth’ lexeme as the accentuation falls differently, possibly due to the different length of the final vowel,¹⁵³ or, perhaps more likely, that the ending *-metos* was reanalysed as a suffix for converting cardinals into ordinals (it has been extended by analogy to the Gaulish ‘eighth’, *oxtumetos*, by the first century AD) and thus may have resisted syncope. The **dekametā* form, however, undergoes syncope and the final vowel of accusative form **dekamtām* follows the development described above (*-ām* > *-am* > *-em*) and is represented in Gallo-Greek as ΔEKANTEN, with the nasals showing some flexibility in their rendition. This interpretation has the advantage of allying ΔEKANTEN with already

¹⁴⁹ See McCone 1996 70–79. McCone 1996 77–78 proposes a date of the fifth century for the change *an/am* > *in/im* before voiced stops in certain environments, based on the evidence of Old Irish *ingor* < *ancora* and Ogam Irish [AM]B[I]CATOS and Old Irish *Imchado*, though the Ogam evidence is poor as the crucial part of the inscription has been restored.

¹⁵⁰ The position of the accent may have been a factor in this. The evidence is complex, but it seems likely that the accent was not word final, see De Bernardo Stempel 1995.

¹⁵¹ For this suggestion, see Lejeune 1994c 178. ¹⁵² See Mullen 2011b.

¹⁵³ Our deficient knowledge of Gaulish accentuation prevents a secure statement on this subject, but it is certainly not implausible.

attested forms in Continental Celtic, though a formation based on **dek̑nt-* as described above is also possible.

The fluctuation between final M and N (in the ratio 2:5) in the inscriptions is also unproblematic. Lejeune's suggestion that the form was 'empruntée par les Celtes de Narbonnaise à un autre groupe celtique (non localisable, mais présentant des traits communs avec le lépontique)'¹⁵⁴ is not impossible, but the M can be explained without recourse to unattested dialects.¹⁵⁵ Alternation in the choice of notation for final nasals is unsurprising; this is a typical environment where the difference between *-n* and *-m* may be neutralized or develop to a nasalized vowel, and the resultant development and/or notation may be dependent on the influence of contact languages. Final *n* is usually found or postulated for Insular Celtic and Gaulish, whereas *-m* is found in Lepontic and Celtiberian (two variant signs).¹⁵⁶ Most striking in this regard are the lead tablets from Larzac written in Gaulish in cursive Latin script, which show two hands, one of which employs final *n*, the other final *m*, the latter probably displaying interference from a Latinate scribal education.¹⁵⁷ The occurrence of M in final position in two instances of the *dedebratoudekanten* formula may reflect early influence from the Italic languages. The references to 'archaising tendencies' in the literature are less plausible:¹⁵⁸ the notion of archaism often relies on reference to earlier written forms, which in the case of Gaulish are non-existent. Furthermore, final M in Gallo-Greek only occurs in this formula, which, if the foreign influence hypothesis is correct, would support the argument of contact-induced change.

As we have already seen, Szemerényi altered his original analysis of ΔEKANTEN in 1991 in the face of the perceived difficulties with the Gaulish origins of the formation. However, his hypothesis of a borrowing from Greek is unlikely: the formation is Gaulish, the apparent problems being explicable, as has been demonstrated.

7.2.6 Origins of the formula

An obvious suggestion is that the similarities between the Gaulish formula and the Graeco-Italic *comparanda* may be due to Indo-European heritage,

¹⁵⁴ Lejeune 1972 270.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Rhys's reliance on 'Celtican' to describe the BPATQY inscriptions (1906 353), his term refers to a Continental Celtic language resembling Goidelic (1905 125–126).

¹⁵⁶ See Lejeune 1976 148–150, 1984 132–133. ¹⁵⁷ See RIG II.2 page 261.

¹⁵⁸ For the suggestion that M in the inscriptions is due to archaism, see Lambert 1997 47, 2003a 57, Lejeune 1976, 1984 132–133, Schmidt 1974 332 note 19.

rather than language contact since the split of the daughter languages. In this case, we might expect the formula, or traces of it, to appear in Insular Celtic and for it to be found elsewhere in the Continental Celtic zone. As it is, Insular Celtic cognates are scarce and the evidence is restricted to a sphere of influence in Southern Gaul. In fact, several factors point towards foreign influence. Firstly, the restricted area of Gaul in which this formula occurs has cultural contacts with Greek-, Oscan- and Latin-speaking communities, and is focused around the arterial trade route of the Rhône. The timescale is also suitable for contact with these communities: these inscriptions are mostly dated to the second to first centuries. Moreover, the formula is particularly associated with expressing gratitude for successful journeys, which would indicate a possible route of transmission into Southern Gaul, through the movement of Gaulish-, Greek- or Italic-speaking merchants, traders, mercenaries,¹⁵⁹ soldiers and travellers. The complex networks criss-crossing the Mediterranean basin, which Horden and Purcell (2000) have so brilliantly painted, meant that Gaulish speakers would easily have come face to face with examples of these Mediterranean formulae, perhaps even in Gaulish communities in Italy, such as those represented epigraphically at Briona and Vercelli.

Most linguists have accepted the formula as being the product of language contact, at least to some extent. Not surprisingly, the spotlight has fallen on Marseille and the colonial Greeks as the purveyors of the formula. However, this hypothesis encounters some problems. Firstly, Szemerényi's suggestion that the term ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ is a borrowing (in the linguistic sense) from Greek has been shown to be unlikely. Secondly, putting aside the complexities of Indo-European linguistics which were not a concern for the Gaulish-speaking communities, ΔΕΔΕ and ΒΠΑΤΟΥ find superficially much closer *comparanda* in the Italic languages, indeed an equivalent to ΒΠΑΤΟΥ is not found in the Greek tithing formula. Moreover, none of the Greek inscriptions from France contains the formula and the distribution of the Gallo-Greek texts focuses not on Marseille, but on the Rhône, which might again argue for a complex mixture of influences disseminated

¹⁵⁹ Mercenaries would have constituted an important element of the Mediterranean *koiné*. They moved around constantly, coming into contact with new languages and communities. The 'Celts' seem to have been regularly employed in this role across the ancient world from the fourth century (for the relevant *testimonia*, see Richie and Richie 1995 55–56). Polybius tells us that during the Second Punic War the Romans employed as guides and fighters some 'Celts' who happened to be serving as mercenaries amongst the Massaliotes (3.41), similarly Livy mentions that Hasdrubal was said to have brought a large amount of gold to hire mercenaries in Gaul during the same conflict (27.36.2). Caesar also mentions that the Massaliotes call upon the *Albici* ('*barbaros homines*') for assistance during the civil war (1.34.4).

through trade, of which only a proportion may have been Massaliote. As Poccetti remarks 'le rôle joué par la culture phocéenne de Marseille dans l'introduction de la dîme en Gaule et le rayonnement de la formule gauloise doit être ramené à de justes proportions'.¹⁶⁰

Oscan uses the Greek alphabet, particularly in the Lucania and Bruttium areas of Italy, and five out of fifteen Oscan inscriptions containing the *brat-* lexeme use the Greek script. The *brat-* lexeme also appears throughout central Italy, in the regions occupied by *Paeligni*, *Vestini*, *Hirpini*, *Sidicini* and *Samnites*, in both the Latin and Oscan alphabets. The argument against Oscan origins for the Gaulish formula might be that Gaulish ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ does not have a direct equivalent in the Oscan formula, though the 'tenth' seems to have been an established concept in Oscan and Umbrian, with several other lexemes possibly based on the same root: *dekmanniúis*,¹⁶¹ *degetasis*,¹⁶² *dequrier*,¹⁶³ *dekkviarím*,¹⁶⁴ *tekvias*.¹⁶⁵ However, δεκμος (*ST Lu* 22), accompanied by a personal name in a fragmentary inscription from the Lucanian sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio, may be an Oscan equivalent to Gaulish ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ,¹⁶⁶ and, significantly, the formula *brateis datas* occurs four times in Oscan dedications from the site (*ST Lu* 14, 15, 16, 64). Lejeune argues that the sanctuary shows virtually no Greek influence in terms of 'langue, institutions politiques et religion'¹⁶⁷ and counters suggestions that δεκμος is a calque of Greek δεκάτη, referring to the 'authenticité italique de ce type d'offrande'.¹⁶⁸ But to exclude Greek influence plays down the role of the Mediterranean *koiné* and the importance of the Greek elements within it. Lucania and Oscan-speaking communities more generally are clearly closely linked with the Greek communities of *Magna Graecia* (and elsewhere) throughout their history.¹⁶⁹ Indeed the Oscan formula *brateis datas* may have been, though very loosely, inspired by a 'modèle idéologique répandu dans le monde grec'.¹⁷⁰

The Latin inscriptions with *decuma* date from the second century, though the references in Plautus hint at the antiquity of the practice,¹⁷¹ as does a gloss in Festus: *decima: quaeque ueteres dis suis offerebant* 'the tithe which people of old dedicated to their gods'. The formula *decuma facta dedit donum*¹⁷² *mereto* (Spoleto) and the abbreviated formula *d. d. l. m. d. f.*

¹⁶⁰ Poccetti 2010a 672–673. ¹⁶¹ See Untermann 2000 165.

¹⁶² See Untermann 2000 157–158. ¹⁶³ See Untermann 2000 167.

¹⁶⁴ See Untermann 2000 164. ¹⁶⁵ See Untermann 2000 740–741.

¹⁶⁶ See Untermann 2000 166. ¹⁶⁷ Lejeune 1990b 53. ¹⁶⁸ Lejeune 1990b 42.

¹⁶⁹ Mixing of Greek and Oscan elements is particularly striking in the *tabellae defixionis* from Italy, see Poccetti 2010a 674–675.

¹⁷⁰ Poccetti 2010a 670. ¹⁷¹ Plaut. *Bacch.* 666, *Most.* 984, *Stich.* 233, 386, *Truc.* 562.

¹⁷² For the *figura etymologica* *dōnum dō* in the languages of Italy, see Euler 1982.

(*donum dat libens merito decuma facta*) (Tarentum) might contain all the elements of the Gaulish formula: *decuma*, *dare* and *merito*, if *merito* can be linked, at least semantically, to BPATÖY. One attestation of the formula in Plautus uses the verb *gratulor*, which may reflect a wordplay on an earlier stage of the formula, as this verb contains the root found in Oscan *brateis* (§7.2.4). The hypothesis of Latin influence seems somewhat less persuasive, however, when we consider that the Latin formula is absent from Southern Gaul.

Contact with foreign cultures has influenced the creation of this Gaulish formula, but not one of the possible languages, Oscan, Latin or Greek, offers a totally satisfactory model and Gaulish did not borrow the formula directly from any one of these languages.¹⁷³ However, considering the similarity of the formulae and the restricted distribution of the Gaulish examples, it seems likely that cultural contact motivated the creation of the formula and that the concept of the dedicatory tithe and the formula may have been introduced into Southern Gaul as a result of contact with the Mediterranean *koiné*.¹⁷⁴ The choice of the Celtic lexemes ΔΕΔΕ and BPATÖY is likely to be due to influence from the Italic languages. The form ΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ is a Celtic formation, probably a calque of the equivalent Graeco-Italic concept, and cannot be a Greek borrowing as Szemerényi claims. The distribution of the Greek dedicatory tithes, which are well attested in *Magna Graecia* but not in the Greek inscriptions from France, supports the suggestion that the model for this Celtic formula might derive from the Italian peninsula, in particular the central and southern zones.

Adams (2007) presents evidence that might be marshalled to support this argument of an Italian linguistic melting pot, from which Gaulish-speaking communities may have created a contact-induced formula. In his exposition of the regional diversification of Latin, he rewrites the orthodoxy on the evidence from the Republic.¹⁷⁵ His discussion of possible Oscanisms in the Latin of the Republic highlights two inscriptions which have been mentioned in the discussion of the Oscan formula above: *ST MV 5* and *ST Pg 6*. The former, from the territory of the *Vestini* and dated to the third century, reads *t. uetio duno didet herclo iouio brat(es) data(s)*. Adams sums up its linguistic content: ‘the verb, the declensional category of *Herclō* and the final two-word formula are Italic, but all the other inflections in the inscription are Latinate’.¹⁷⁶ He concludes that this inscription

¹⁷³ Mullen 2008a 259, Poccetti 2010a 673.

¹⁷⁴ See Campanile 1993 for the ‘*koiné mediterranea*’. He discusses ‘judge’ and ‘tithe’ as examples of concepts common to this *koiné*.

¹⁷⁵ See Mullen 2008b. ¹⁷⁶ Adams 2007 74.

indicates language mixing that can occur in a period of language shift. The second inscription was found in the territory of the *Paeligni: sa. seio(s). sa. f. herclei. donom ded(ed). brat(eis). datas*. Again the linguistic content seems to suggest a mixture of Oscan (the formula) and Latin (the rest).¹⁷⁷ It is perhaps significant that the deity addressed in both inscriptions is Hercules, the standard recipient of the equivalent title formula in Latin¹⁷⁸ (in Oscan several deities receive dedications with the *brateis datas* formula). The appearance of inscriptions from central Italy in mixtures of Oscan and Latin which include the Oscan formula indicates that the formula may be crossing linguistic boundaries. How exactly the Gaulish-speaking communities created their formula is probably irrecoverable, but central-southern Italy certainly provides all the elements and the appropriate circumstances for contact-induced adoption.¹⁷⁹

A recent find from Roccagloriosa on the Lucanian coast a little to the South of Hyele may demonstrate a possible route of transmission.¹⁸⁰ A fourth-century lead tablet from this indigenous site contains, on the same side, the beginning of a Greek commercial text and an Oscan imprecation. Whilst the Greek itself does not allow an identification of the place in which it was written, the proximity of the Phokaian colony of Hyele may well have been the impetus behind the use of Greek, if not the precise place in which it was inscribed. Here we see vividly the closeness of the Oscan communities and the Phokaiaans of Italy, and relationships between the Phokaiaans of the Italian peninsula and Gaul would create an obvious route of transmission for mixtures of Graeco-Italic cultural elements.¹⁸¹

7.2.7 Significance of the formula

A detailed analysis of the formula has shown that its creation was based on indigenous contacts with the Mediterranean *koine*, and we have discussed various possible routes of transmission into Southern Gaul. But we need to consider the significance of this conclusion beyond simply identifying another example of contact across the Mediterranean basin.

As emphasized in the discussion on the creation and development of Gallo-Greek epigraphy (Chapter 4), internal factors should not be

¹⁷⁷ For the discussion, see Adams 2007 76.

¹⁷⁸ See Szemerényi 1974 275. Livy 5.21 refers to a *decuma* promised to Apollo.

¹⁷⁹ Poccetti 2010a 673 offers some further possible epigraphic evidence for links between Southern Italy and Gaul.

¹⁸⁰ See Poccetti 1990, 2010a 676.

¹⁸¹ See Lomas 1993 for discussion of the close interaction between the Greeks of *Magna Graecia* and local communities.

overlooked in the analysis. Who is using the *dedebratoudekanten* formula and for what purpose and how can it be understood in the context of the evolving indigenous communities? The evidence is clearly far from sufficient to answer these questions fully. In terms of understanding the context for the display of the inscriptions, three inscriptions from the dossier must be excluded as they are known only through early modern transcriptions. Of the eleven extant examples, four had been reused and of the remaining seven, the most recently discovered is *RIG I G-64* which was found in 1954. As a result the contextual information for these objects is extremely poor.

Fortunately, the objects themselves can serve as a useful starting point for analysing the function and display of these dedications.¹⁸² Two of the transcriptions provide no information as to the type of support for the inscription, the remaining transcription (G-205) shows the inscription positioned on the abacus of a fluted capital. The abacus reappears in Doric form at Nîmes (G-203) and also at Saint-Côme-et-Maruéjols (G-214). These inscriptions were presumably not designed to be read by passers-by. More likely to have been designed with an audience in mind are the three stone pillars providing support for the inscriptions at Malaucène (G-148), Collias (G-183) and Nîmes (G-206). The first two stand at 118 and 129 centimetres respectively, the third is now broken but could reasonably be assigned a similar original height. Altars are used for the two extant dedications at Glanum, of which one (G-65) is 60 centimetres, the other (G-64) only 33. The inscription at Orgon (G-27), on a small cippus of local stone, is of a similar height, at 35 centimetres. The remaining objects include part of a stone monument (G-202), which may have originally been around 75 × 45 centimetres and does not resemble any of the other objects in the Gallo-Greek *corpus*, and two vessels. The first, a shallow basin from Saint-Chamas (G-28), is mostly extant and has a diameter of 61 centimetres. The other, from Collorgues (G-184), is probably the rim of a similar object, though nothing apart from the inscribed fragment has been identified. In both cases the inscription has been positioned to allow reading.

This group of inscriptions encompasses a surprising number of forms. The variety in the typologies suggests that when the formula was created and diffused it was not accompanied by a restricted notion about how the tithing process might be documented. In fact we have no idea what the tithe actually was in a Gaulish context. Could the dedication be the object itself or would there have been additional offerings that have since perished?

¹⁸² The author has been able to scrutinize all but one (G-148) of these objects directly.

The basins and the altars suggest that additional offerings (such as food or wine) may well have been presented in or on the objects, and the abacus from Nîmes (G-203) had holes cut out of the top into which a statue would probably have been attached.

Whatever the exact nature of the dedications, the dedicators, where attested, seem to have names of Gaulish origins, apart from KOPNHΛIA at Glanum (G-65) and, possibly the second part of the name EKIAIOC P[?]OYMAN[I/E?]OC at Collias (G-183). These names demonstrate possible links with the Italian peninsula, as seen at §7.1. The dedicatees in every case are Gaulish-named deities, several of which are otherwise unattested. Three, however, have parallels which are worth pursuing. We have already seen that *Belenos* (G-28) is attested several times in Southern Gaul (§6.2.2), perhaps including examples from Marseille and Glanum in Greek script, but certainly examples in Latin at Saint-Chamas, Glanum, Gréasque, Pourrières, Saint-Just, Narbonne and Nîmes. Further examples of the cross-over from Gaulish to Latin dedications probably occur at Glanum. The dedication to the MATPEBO ΓΛANEIKABO (G-64) was found at the foot of the steps leading from the spring sanctuary to the rock sanctuary (Figure 20; see Map 5 below, p. 224). The altar was positioned beneath a niche which perhaps originally contained statues of the mother goddesses. Just to the left of the niche was an impressive-sized Latin inscription (Rolland 1958a 88) to *Glanī et Glanicabus et Fortunae Reduci*, the *Glanicabus* being the Latin incarnation of the Gaulish goddesses. The rest of the inscription indicates that the dedicator was *M. L<i> cinius Claud Verecundu(s) vet leg XXI Rapacis*, a man with a Roman name and a veteran. It is impossible to be sure whether or not he was a local originally, but this Latin dedication of the first century AD demonstrates that knowledge of the local deities had continued into a Roman context. Dedication to local deities by army personnel is a well-attested phenomenon in the Roman world, a product of the desire to receive fortune and protection from autochthonous powers.

Another possible example of the continuation and transformation of practices can be seen at Glanum in a comparison of the Gaulish dedication to the 'far-hearing goddesses' (G-65) and the Latin dedication to the *Auribus* (IAG 18; see Figure 26 below, p. 241) (see §8.2.6 for further discussion). More generally, the focus of Glanum as a site for the veneration of Hercules may be of significance in understanding the possible transmission of the *dedebratoudekanten* formula. The tithing formula in Latin is used almost exclusively for Hercules. In the catalogue of deity names in *OG*, Hercules appears eight times and is the second most commonly attested deity in the epigraphic *corpus* (Figure 21 below, p. 223). This site may therefore have



Figure 20 Steps leading to rock sanctuary, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux.

provided a locus for transmission for the formula, even though the Latin equivalent is not attested.

Perhaps the most difficult question to tackle is that of the significance of the tithing (the formula, epigraphic expression and the associated practices) in the context of the indigenous communities. Most archaeologists consider that the communities of the lower Rhône valley in which this

formula was employed had been hierarchical for a considerable time and have associated the statuary, particularly of the so-called 'guerriers', and the pre-Augustan monumentalization of some sites with the growth in strength of an indigenous elite. It might be reasonable to consider that the epigraphic memorialization of tithing may have been primarily taken on by the elite too, but this exceeds the direct evidence. We might wonder whether the epigraphic remains reflect a practice which was actually of some antiquity but was transformed into Mediterranean guise when contacts with Mediterranean communities intensified in the late Republican period.

The potential gap between the bulk of the inscriptions and the two later examples of Nîmes and Saint-Côme (§4.2.3), if they are indeed to be dated to the first or second centuries AD, must also be assessed. These inscriptions must be evidence of some form of continuity or memory rather than a coincidental later creation. Either we are seeing a continuity of practice without epigraphy (the tithing and formula continue to be used but are only committed to writing when it was deemed of strategic use) or perhaps the practice is no longer current but the formula has been remembered (reminders may well have been visible in the older epigraphy). The lamentable lack of context for these inscriptions means that we have many more questions than answers, but a detailed analysis of all the available linguistic and extra-linguistic information has allowed us to reconstruct, in broad terms at least, the cultural contacts behind the adoption of this formula.

7.3 Cultural contacts: conclusions from the linguistic evidence

The formula *dedebratoudekanten* was created through contact with a Mediterranean *koine*, rather than uniquely contact with the local Greek colonists, and, together with the early attestation of Italic names in the settlements, and the new evidence of code-switching into Latin at Velleron, this strongly implies that the role of Massalia in language and epigraphy has been inflated and underlines the complexity of the contact culture.

In the next chapter we enter further into the debate on 'Hellenization'. The new conclusions from the linguistic evidence will be used to question and inform current trends in archaeological and historical analysis. By integrating a range of evidence, the nature of the contact culture and its evolution over time are illuminated. A comparative case study of Glanum and the Aristaion illustrates the issue of 'Hellenization' and the limits of the archaeological analysis alone. These sites reinforce the conclusion that

the Gaulish communities cannot be viewed as homogeneous and highlight the fluctuating and disparate reactions to contact with the Greeks. They can also be analysed as two key *loci* of Mediterraneanization, a process which arguably helped pave the way for the creation of the Roman province.

8 | ‘D’où rayonna en Occident la civilisation’? Investigating the *loci* of cultural change

8.1 *Loci* of cultural change: Glanum and the Aristaion

Although the epigraphic evidence is problematic *per se*, the conclusion that the Greek language does not seem to have extended significantly beyond Greek settlements and trading contexts seems plausible. We have seen that the Mediterranean *koiné* has a significant impact in the creation and development of Gallo-Greek and that we should not always turn solely to Massalia as our point of influence. In this chapter we look more closely at two epigraphically rich sites and examine their evidence for multiple identities and their possible role as *loci* of cultural change.

Two sites in Provence, renowned for their uniqueness, underline the importance of exploring difference and not reducing the analysis of the region to generalizations. Glanum, a jewel in the French archaeological crown, has puzzled for decades. The elaborate and profound evidence for ‘Hellenization’ remains irrevocably intertwined with indigenous material culture but epigraphically the ‘Greeks’ of the site are mysteriously absent. The missing piece in the interpretation of the site is the importance of Italy as a vector of cultural change. As a diametrically opposed example to Glanum, the rural sanctuary of Aristaion, not far from the Greek colony Olbia, displays neither monumentalization nor lavish splendour. The epigraphic material, still unpublished, betrays the Greek identity of the worshippers and the close contacts with non-Greeks. Through this site we can begin to unveil the complexity of negotiations by the colonial Greeks, both in their interactions with Gaulish-speaking communities and their expressions of multidimensional identity.

8.2 Glanum

8.2.1 Understanding the settlement

Glanum, ‘le site indigène le plus grec de Provence’,¹ is situated approximately 2 kilometres south of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence and 12 kilometres from the

Rhône in the Notre-Dame-de-Laval valley of the Alpilles (Map 4). Known through several ancient sources,² it is located towards the north of a route through the Alpilles joining the major east–west routes, the *Via Domitia* and the *Via Aurelia*.³ Considering Glanum’s position on a more minor route, other sites (e.g. nearby Ernaginum) on the main *viae* would probably have marked more important staging posts for journeys, and Glanum owes its prosperity at least in part to other factors.⁴ The springs at this site and the excellent stone⁵ perhaps provided the motivation for the creation of a sanctuary and the fertility of the nearby land meant that a settlement flourished.⁶ The etymology of the toponym may evoke the springs, though some debate remains as to the exact derivation.⁷ Gros (1995) challenges the traditional interpretation of the prosperity of the site and proposes instead a ‘marché-sanctuaire’, dedicated to Hercules (Figure 21), within the circuit of transhumance, based on comparisons with sanctuaries in Italy and Spain and a reinterpretation of the function of several structures including the ‘porte fortifiée’. This has been refuted by Roth Congès (1997),⁸ who argues from a persuasive series of geographical, archaeological and religious considerations.⁹ Though her chronological argument is weak, the accumulation of evidence is impressive.¹⁰

² Ancient sources for the toponym: *Glano* (Antonine Itinerary 343.6); *Glanum* (Plin. *N.H.* 3.4.37); Γλανόν (Ptolemy 2.10.8); *Calum* (Ravenna Cosmography 4.28); *Clano* (*Tabula Peutingeriana*); *Clanum*, *Glanum*, *Glanu(m)*, *Glano* (Vicarello Goblets, *CIL* XI 3281–3284), *Col[...]* *Glano* (*CIL* XII 4379), see *CIL* XII page 127.

³ For the road system, see Rolland 1946 7–12.

⁴ For the secondary importance of the route, see Roth Congès 1997 162–165. Glanum is not mentioned in Strabo’s description of the journey between Spain and Italy (Roth Congès 1989 14), indeed, only the *Tabula Peutingeriana* describes the route through the Alpilles (Maussane to Glanum), see *CAG* 13/2 268–269. However, certain scholars still prioritize the location of Glanum within the road network, for instance Salviat 1990 17–18.

⁵ The stone was transported as far as Lyon in the early Imperial period, see Congès and Bessac 1987 89.

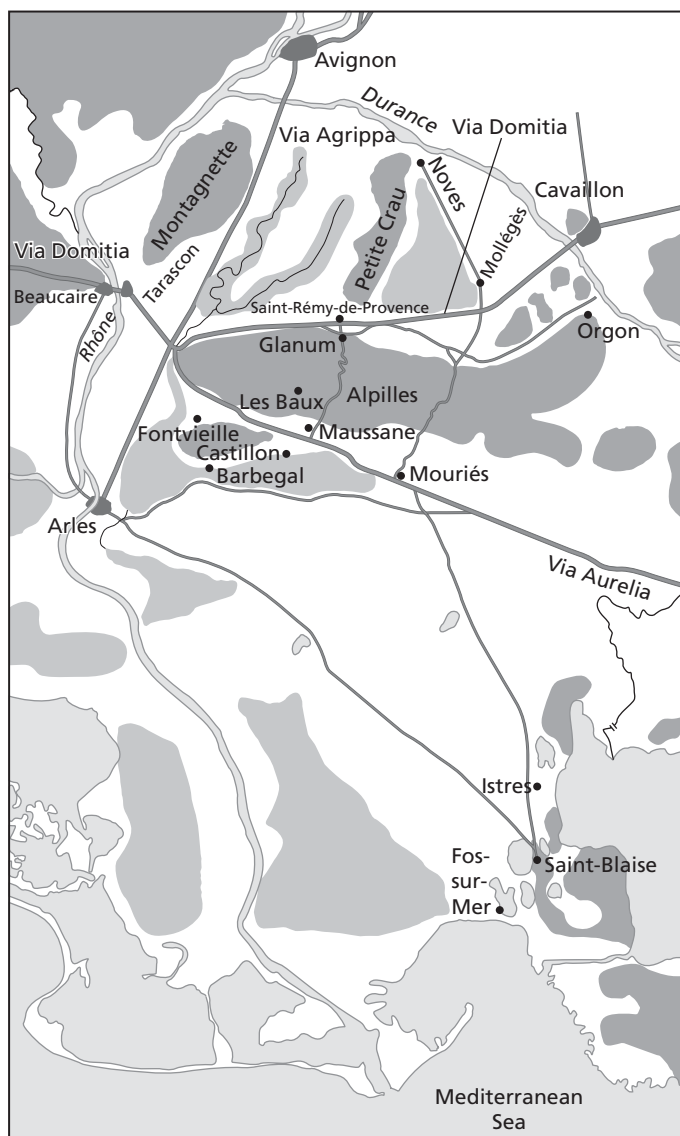
⁶ See *CAG* 13/2 265–266, Jorda and Provansal 1989 for the situation of Glanum. See Bessac and Lambert 1989, *CAG* 13/2 378–381, Congès and Bessac 1987, Rolland 1946 29–39 for the type of stone, quarries and stone-cutting. Inscriptions in red paint have been found at the quarries: *ALTVM*, *CM*, *INC* (see Bessac and Lambert 1989 12, *CAG* 13/2 380, *IAG* 73, 74). For the early settlement, see Rolland 1936a, 1962, 1972.

⁷ See De Hoz 2005b 181–182, Delamarre 2003 180, Faust 1965 145–148, Guyonvarc’h 1959, Olmsted 1994 361, Rolland 1946 12–13 note 6, Sims-Williams 2006 14, 240, 245.

⁸ Roth Congès 1997 highlights factual errors in Gros 1995.

⁹ Hercules at Glanum can be associated, along with the other deities, with a healing role, rather than one of shepherding. He may have been popular at the site due to his mythical association with the region.

¹⁰ Roth Congès argues that widespread transhumance in the region started at the earliest around the second half of the first century, and can be associated with the foundation of the *colonia* of Arles in 46, which is in the period following the ‘golden age’ of Glanum in the second century.



Map 4 Map showing Glanum's position in the fluvial and road networks.

Glanum offers a complex archaeological picture (Map 5) and retains ‘une opacité qui lui est propre’.¹¹ The nature of the settlement itself presents

Durand and Leveau 2004 point out that Pliny and Strabo refer to a pre-Roman phase of transhumance which may not have left traces in the archaeological record.

¹¹ Gros 1995 311.



Figure 21 Hercules, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux, Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence.

difficulties. One obvious level of complexity lies in its multiple phases of rebuilding, to which exact dating can often not be assigned, and which differ across the site. An associated problem is that much of the material from earlier phases is reused, for example in the foundations of later structures, or dumped. The creation of the modern site has also created problems of its own. The early phases of excavation are especially difficult to work with: Rolland's publications and associated notes are lacunose and contain inaccuracies and inconsistencies. Several of Rolland's interpretations have rightly been reanalysed in recent decades, but the resultant changes of nomenclature for structures complicate the picture further. As a result of the early excavation, the stratigraphy of the whole site remains incompletely known, a problem which modern research must continue to address.

The find-spots of the epigraphic remains indicate further complexities. Several of the inscriptions edited by Rolland in his ‘Inscriptions antiques de Glanum’ (*IAG*) are not from the main site but are dotted around the surrounding area. Many of these stelae were found in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example by the amateur archaeologist Isidore Gilles,¹² and their exact contexts are often unknown and are referred to by nomenclature such as ‘Mas de Cloud’, ‘Mas de Vêran’ and so on, which does not feature on detailed maps in publications concerning Glanum.¹³ The sparsely labelled map in *CAG* (p. 254) at least gives an idea of roughly how the site and nearby finds are related. In fact much work remains to be done in understanding the site and its environs, and the extent of this task is only just becoming clear. A significant development in the last couple of decades has been the systematic surveying of the surrounding area, which has shown that between 30 and 40 hectares were surrounded by defensive structures, of which 20 hectares were inhabited. This is relatively exceptional for Southern Gaul, where the average *oppidum* covers approximately 3 hectares.¹⁴ Despite decades of excavation and not having the misfortune of a modern town obliterating it, Glanum still has much to tell.

8.2.2 ‘Colonie marseillaise’ to ‘*oppidum* celto-ligure’: the historiography of Glanum

The nature of the excavations and interpretation of the ancient settlement of Glanum cannot be understood without recourse to the historiography. Significant excavation began in 1921 under the formidable Jules Formigé (l’architecte en chef des Monuments Historiques)¹⁵ and was continued by Pierre de Brun until 1942. In line with the notion of Greek Provence, the early interpretations of the site referred to Glanum as a ‘colonie marseillaise’. De Brun’s fanciful history of the site described an early ‘bourgade ligure’,¹⁶ which became a Greek colony in the third century,¹⁷ was destroyed in 49 by

¹² See Perrot 1999 for Isidore Gilles. ¹³ For these stelae, see Arcelin and Arcelin 1975.

¹⁴ For details, see Augusta-Boularot *et al.* 1998 23, Gazebeek 1998 96. Large settlements are more common in Northern Gaul.

¹⁵ Formigé 1931. ¹⁶ De Brun 1932 124.

¹⁷ De Brun originally dated the colonization by the Greeks to the taking of the city in 218 by the Cisalpine Gaul Cantovios. This is pure fantasy based on an inaccurate reading of the Caso Cantovios bronze from Lacus Fucinus, see De Brun 1932 118–120, 144. See Adams 2007 62–64, Del Tutto Palma 1997, Vetter 1953 161, Wachter 1987 370–372 for reliable interpretations; these have to be considered in the light of the new reading cited in Clackson and Horrocks 2007 112–114. Later, De Brun 1941 44–45 decided, on the basis of ceramic finds, to date the colonization to the early third century.

Caesar's legions and rebuilt and inhabited by Romans thereafter. De Brun was soon eclipsed by Henri Rolland, and his contribution to the history of the site remains in Rolland's shadow.¹⁸

More cautious than De Brun, Rolland steadily developed our understanding of the site, though he never refuted the assignation of Glanum as a Massaliote possession.¹⁹ In a publication shortly before his death, he spoke of Glanum as being situated in the territorial domain of Marseille, and described 'deux communautés ethniques, salyenne et grecque, groupées autour du sanctuaire'.²⁰ Rolland is one of the most important Southern French archaeologists of the twentieth century, whose influence extends over the important sites of Glanum and Saint-Blaise, and consequently over the whole region.²¹ Nevertheless, we should be aware of the pitfalls of his work and dare to question his conclusions in order to continue to refine our understanding. Rolland played a central role in the creation of the archaeological site of Glanum and his desire to find a certain type of settlement inevitably has had a lasting impact on our interpretation.

This influence remains most obviously in the names of the structures which were, wherever possible, given Greek names, for example the *bouleuterion* and the *prytaneum*. This example masks a more pernicious influence as detailed analysis of the archaeological reports suggests that the conservation, documentation and interpretation of evidence were dependent on the changing interests of the figure in charge.²² An examination of the correspondence of the main figures of the site is essential in reconstructing the influence of Rolland and in reaching a better interpretation of the remains, though this is sensitive material and publication is perhaps unlikely. New generations of archaeologists are criticizing and pushing forward the interpretation, but it may be some time before the effects are fully felt.²³

¹⁸ His publications include De Brun 1930, 1931, 1932, 1935, 1941.

¹⁹ Rolland's numerous publications include: 1934a, 1934b, 1946, 1958a, 1960.

²⁰ Rolland 1968 110.

²¹ Rolland has been assigned a position of great importance by French scholars, and his regular publications were crucial in a period when systematic publications were not undertaken, see CAG 13/2 268, Duval 1989. However, the excavations were undertaken before the development of archaeology using scientific methods and much valuable evidence and contextual information were destroyed or lost.

²² The obsession with finding a theatre at the site can be seen as a reaction to the discovery of the same at Vaison-la-Romaine. The work on the hydraulic system of the Vallon Saint-Clerg has now removed 'les derniers espoirs de ceux qui croyaient encore en la présence d'un théâtre à cet endroit du site' (Agusta-Boularot and Paillet 1997a 4).

²³ As late as 1988, Rivet reported that Glanum was 'taken over by the Massaliotes in the second century' (198, also 42). An outdated view recently repeated by Anderson (2013 6).

Modern literature broadly analyses the site as follows.²⁴ The early period of settlement is described as indigenous ('Celto-Ligurian'), then 'Hellenistic'. Two destructions at the hands of the Romans take place in 125 and 90 (§1.5.3) and thereafter a steady Romanization occurs, with the settlement receiving the status *oppidum Latinum* around 45 and becoming a colony, probably between 22 and 14.²⁵ Rolland's chronological segmentation of the settlement identified three main periods after the long indigenous phase,²⁶ which have since been subdivided and the dates refined based on new research. Glanum I, the 'Hellenistic' period of monumentalization, now comprises Glanum Ia (190 to 150), Glanum Ib (150 to 125/124) and Glanum Ic (123 to 90). Glanum II is the 'Graeco-Roman' period, spanning from 90 to 22, Glanum III is the 'Gallo-Roman' phase, which lasts until the settlement's (temporary) abandonment in AD 270.²⁷ The post-Roland excavations have been characterized by a number of diverse projects: important phases have focused on the monumental centre, the hydraulic systems and the extension and defence of the settlement.²⁸ At times, perhaps more cooperation between researchers of different disciplines (e.g. linguists, archaeologists) might have accelerated progress.²⁹

8.2.3 Rethinking the orthodoxy

By pooling resources, we might begin to rethink the orthodoxy and continue to refine the analysis of the settlement. A starting point might be the assumption that Glanum is part of the Salluvian confederation. Entremont,

²⁴ For general discussions of the site, see Agusta-Boularot, Follain and Robert 2004, Bromwich 1993 201–221, Delestre and Salviat 2011, PECS, Roth Congès 1992b, 1992d, 2000a, Salviat 1990, the multi-authored articles in *Les Dossiers d'archéologie* no. 140 (1989).

²⁵ Recognition of Glanum's status as a colony is based on the revision of an inscription from Narbonne, probably Augustan: *COL[...]GLANO* (*CIL* XII 4379), see Christol and Janon 1999, 2000.

²⁶ This framework is described at Rolland 1958a 124, a refinement of Rolland 1946 20.

²⁷ These are the dates provided by CAG 13/2 310–313.

²⁸ For summaries of the post-Roland period, see Agusta-Boularot, Follain and Robert 2004, Roth Congès 1992d. For the monumental centre, see Roth Congès 1992b, 1992c, 1994, Tréziny 2006a. For the hydraulic systems, see Agusta-Boularot and Paillet 1997a, 1997b (prior to this the only significant work had been Benoît 1935), for the defence and extension of the settlement, see Agusta-Boularot *et al.* 1998, CAG 13/2 269–295, Gazenbeek 1998, Paillet and Tréziny 2000, for both, see Agusta-Boularot *et al.* 2000. The most recent work has taken place on the forum, which was the basis for a recent exhibition '... sous le forum' (22 December 2007). For earlier post-Roland work on the forum, see Roth Congès 1987.

²⁹ Intellectual property has caused friction, see Roth Congès 1992a 29. The rather personal attack by Roth Congès 1997 is an example of the strained relations.

the so-called 'capital' of the confederation,³⁰ is quite different, being anepigraphic and apparently less open to Mediterraneanization (§4.2.3)³¹ and Py even suggests that Saint-Blaise could have been the chief city of the confederation.³² Traditional groupings of indigenous peoples should be treated with caution, since our knowledge is often partial and the Romans may have simplified and fixed in time a complex and fluid system of relationships and interactions, that should not be unquestioningly reflected back to the pre-Roman period.³³ Using the epigraphic evidence we find many attestations of ethnonyms based on the settlement name at Glanum,³⁴ but none mentioning the *Salluvii*. Though retaining clear indicators of its indigenous origins, for instance in food preparation and the evidence for distinctively indigenous cultic practice (severed heads and cross-legged warriors),³⁵ Glanum displays high levels of Mediterraneanization. This might encourage us to wonder whether the destructions of 125 and 90, normally viewed as undertaken by the Romans against the *Salluvii*, may rather have been caused by collateral damage from revolts of indigenous groups in the region. In pursuing this line of investigation, it became clear that the evidence for these destructions should perhaps be reviewed altogether.³⁶ Rolland offers little concrete evidence in any of the publications of the site. Although this reticence can occasionally be attributed to a lack of concern or space, an assessment of the entirety of the archaeological reports, including those post-Roland, reveals virtually no further information. Some archaeologists believe that the destructions of 125 and 90 may not have taken place. They have not seen evidence for layers of destruction which span the whole or the majority of the site: evidence for fire damage appears to have been localized, and, certainly, the wooded areas around Glanum, then, as now,

³⁰ Benoît 1969.

³¹ For instance, the monumental structures and the houses are of indigenous type, see Arcelin 1992b.

³² Py 1993 157. Of course capitals may change from place to place over time.

³³ The standard work on the confederations of Southern Gaul is Barruol 1969. This organization of the indigenous population is still largely accepted, see Collis 2003 105, Garcia 2004 23, Py 1993 44. See Dietler 2010 86–94 for an overview of the possible development of socio-political groupings over time.

³⁴ Attestations of ethnonyms: Γλανικῶν (IAG 91), on two second-century coins, see Feugère and Py 2011, Rolland 1933, 1946 21–23; ΓΛΑΝΕΙΚΑΒΟ (RIG I G-64); *Glanici* (IAG 21); *Glanico(rum)* (CIL XII 1005, IAG 52); *Glanicorum* (Rolland 1958a 110); *Glaniens* (Roth Congès 1992a 31); *Glaniens(es)* (Roth Congès 1992a 32); *Glaniens* (Roth Congès 1992a 32, for a discussion of this ethnonym, see 37–38); *Glanici* (from the Hadrianic extension of the amphitheatre at Lyon, see Audin and Guey 1976 202–205).

³⁵ See Häussler 2007b and Roth Congès 2004 for evidence of cultic practices, and Arcelin 1991 for the preparation and service of food (showing evidence, in very crude terms, of tradition and external influences respectively).

³⁶ Augusta-Boularot and Paillet 1997a 1 also argue that the abandonment of the site in AD 270 should be reconsidered; surveys have shown intensive occupation until the end of late antiquity.

would have been susceptible to fires in the summer months. The reuse of stone in the phases of rebuilding of the site can be shown to have involved the reshaping of blocks, but no evidence for broken pieces has been systematically found. Similarly, the remains of plaster assembled for a recent display do not show systematic fire damage, and archaeological remains of warfare dating from the appropriate period are largely lacking.³⁷ All this suggests that the destructions at Glanum in 125 and 90 are perhaps relics of text-driven archaeology. However, they still continue to be referred to in modern publications and the orthodoxy remains resilient.

8.2.4 Colonization and Hellenization

One crucial question, important for the history of colonization and Hellenization, is the presence of Greek inhabitants at Glanum. On the basis of the archaeological remains, but particularly the structures as few other aspects of the site were adequately examined in the early excavations, scholars traditionally argued that the site was partly inhabited by Greeks during the Hellenistic period,³⁸ and that its language was Greek until the first century.³⁹ Although it is likely that perhaps some Greeks from Marseille sought refuge at Glanum during the civil war (p. 43), or that pockets of traders existed from an early period as at other sites (cf. the possibility of resident Etruscan traders at Lattes), recent work has shown that the settlement remained largely indigenous throughout the Hellenistic phase.⁴⁰

It is striking that only one possible piece of Greek has been found in the inscriptional evidence from Glanum in the Hellenistic period. The three other Greek inscriptions in *IGF* under the section ‘Glanum et environs’, include two late, probably Christian, inscriptions (*IGF* 52–53) and a stone stele from Noves (*IGF* 54), approximately 10 kilometres from Saint-Rémy (§10.1). The relevant object from Glanum is a crude, fragmentary, first-century altar, found in the basin of the *nymphaeum* (XXXVI) (Figure 22).⁴¹ The transcription is somewhat uncertain: [Ἀπό]λλωνι | [. . .]ράτας is that given by Decourt (*IGF* 51), but an alternative has been suggested: [Ἀπο]λλων | [. . .]ρατίας.⁴² The second line seems to read [. . .]PATAc, the proposed iota probably caused by the misinterpretation of a scratch. The first line is more difficult to transcribe. The floating ‘omega’ is odd: it

³⁷ Roth Congès 1992c 50 mentions ‘la présence de boulets de machines de guerre’.

³⁸ See, for instance, Kleiner 1973 381.

³⁹ Gros 1976 301. Anderson’s comment that ‘a number of inscriptions in Greek have come to light’ (2013 30) is simply wrong. He seems unfamiliar with the epigraphic record, and the writing of Gaulish in Greek letters.

⁴⁰ Arcelin 1991. ⁴¹ Roman numerals refer to those marked on Map 5 (p. 224).

⁴² CAG 13/2 304, Rolland 1958a 98.



Figure 22 IGF 51, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux, Hôtel de Sade, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence.

has a vertical stroke with two angled arms pointing upwards. The final iota seems to be relatively secure, though the final section would then have to be read $\Lambda\iota$ or $\Lambda\iota$, and not Λ . Despite this, Rolland suggests that ‘on peut en toute certitude restituer le nom du dieu ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ , avec la désinence du datif ΝΙ en ligature’.⁴³ Indeed, there is evidence that Apollo was worshiped at Glanum in the Roman period; not only does he appear represented in stone at the site,⁴⁴ but a Latin inscription reading $A[P]OLINI$ (*CIL* XII 991, *IAG* 17, [Figure 23](#)) was also found close to Glanum at the Mas de Durand.⁴⁵

⁴³ Rolland 1958a 98.

⁴⁴ For a depiction of Apollo, see *CAG* 13/2 322 (four-headed capital, inv. 6973, found reused in the foundations of building XXIX). Rolland also suspects that the head found in the monumental fountain XXXVI may be that of Apollo (1958a 97, 1960 59), though Roth Congès 1997 187 is sceptical in the absence of distinctive features.

⁴⁵ The precise find-spot is unknown. The P is not secure. Another inscription with the name *APOLLINI* (*CIL* XII 1276) is from the vicinity of Vaison-la-Romaine (*vico Aubune*).



Figure 23 *CIL* XII 991, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux, Musée des Alpilles, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence.

Apollo seems to have been ‘le guérisseur par excellence’ in Gaul⁴⁶ and the worship of this deity may be a continuation of the possible earlier worship of the ‘Celtic Apollo’ *Belenos* (*RIG I* G-63) (§6.2.2). However, even if we accept Rolland’s reading and the claim that the dedicatee may be Apollo, this should not force us to view the dedicator in the second line as having a Greek name. Rolland is cautious: ‘Quant au nom du dédicant, on ne peut se prononcer sur son origine grecque ou gauloise.’⁴⁷ A Celtic name is not totally excluded, a feminine name (long or short *-a*) in the genitive singular might be possible (though *-ias* would be expected rather than *-as*),⁴⁸ or a nominative or accusative plural. It is, of course, possible that it may not be a name at all.

Our evidence for Greek epigraphy from this settlement is restricted to a piece of text that cannot be positively identified as Greek. Roth Congès rightly cautions against extrapolating from this isolated piece of controversial evidence about the ethnicity of the local community, though her argument that an offering in a sanctuary will be that of a visitor is not secure;⁴⁹ there are plenty of potential epichoric dedicans given the extent of the territory of the settlement. In the absence of continuous written Greek from the site, the onomastic evidence grows in significance.

⁴⁶ Roth Congès 1997 187. ⁴⁷ Rolland 1958a 98.

⁴⁸ Lambert 2003a 58 lists *-as* and *-ias* as alternatives for the genitive singular of Gaulish *-ā* stem nouns. It should be noted, however, that there is only one attestation of the former in Gallo-Greek: ΑΛΙΣΟΝΤΕΑΣ (*RIG I* G-224), whose ending is in fact probably a representation of *-ias*.

⁴⁹ Roth Congès 1992b 354 note 11, 1992d 43 note 25.

8.2.5 Hellenization and Mediterraneanization

Hellenistic-period Glanum was at first viewed by commentators as a Greek settlement, both in terms of the presence of Greek colonists and the nature of the structures created. As appreciation of the complexity of the origins of Hellenic features grew, Glanum offered an interesting case study to reassess traditional standpoints. In the early 1970s, Kleiner argued, in an article largely focused on Glanum, that 'the "Greek substratum" so often cited to explain the "Hellenic character" of Roman Imperial art in Gaul is a myth of modern scholarship. There was no *Gallia Graeca* with respect to sculpture.'⁵⁰ Gros replied, again using examples from Glanum, that 'L'argumentation *a silentio* développée par F. S. Kleiner à propos de la statuaire, et étendue à l'architecture, pour nier la persistance d'un substrat hellénistique dans la Narbonnaise après la colonisation romaine, et limiter par voie de conséquence les effets de l'hellénisme dans la Gaule du Sud ne résiste pas à un examen attentif des données architecturales.'⁵¹ Gros preferred to see Hellenistic-period, Hellenic-style architecture in Southern Gaul as, in part, a reflection of traditional local Greek culture: 'Il ressort par exemple que l'anthroponymie de Massilia garde tenacement, encore au I^{er} s. de notre ère, la trace de ses origines phocéennes. Les observations que nous avons faites dans le domaine de l'architecture doivent être imputées à un phénomène analogue.'⁵²

This debate still continues today in numerous guises, but undoubtedly one of the major changes to the orthodoxy in recent decades has been the increase in focus on Italian influence during the Hellenistic period at Glanum, with a concomitant reconsideration of the role of the Greek colonies.⁵³ Roth Congès, in particular, has identified several structures as having Italian models.⁵⁴ This is not the place to present detailed discussion of the entirety of the evidence, but some examples may prove illustrative. Under the north end of the Roman forum is a small temple. Dating to the second century, the architectural remains allow it to be classified as Tuscan, and, though neither inscriptions nor other remains allow the identification of its exact purpose, the existence of a distinctively Italian-style temple at the site in this period must be significant.⁵⁵ The Hellenistic 'town

⁵⁰ Kleiner 1973 382. ⁵¹ Gros 1976 311. ⁵² Gros 1976 311, see also Gros 1990, 1992.

⁵³ See Heyn 2006, Roth Congès 1992b. For an early discussion, see Rolland 1958b.

⁵⁴ Roth Congès 1992b, 1992c. A thesis recently defended by Elsa Saget (October 2011) at the Université de Provence was entitled 'Caractérisation de l'architecture pré-augustéenne à Glanum (Bouches-du-Rhône)' and sought to understand the origins of 'Mediterranean' influences in the architecture at Glanum.

⁵⁵ CAG 13/2 316–317.

hall', under the south end of the Roman forum, is a trapezoidal building deemed a *prytaneum* by Rolland.⁵⁶ A key feature of the monumentalization of Glanum I, this building contained mosaics, wall decoration and ornate capitals, but also the pierced skulls and graffiti of indigenous activities, once again demonstrating the fusion of tradition and innovation. The series of four-headed capitals, thought to have been displayed there, appear to demonstrate links specifically with the Italian peninsula as they are based on a style originating in Southern Italy, Sicily and Etruria.⁵⁷ We cannot exclude the work of visiting or resident Italians catering for Gaulish tastes, but the fusion of indigenous elements in these capitals, such as the torques, and the existence of parallels at Entremont and other indigenous sites hint that *indigènes* may have been responsible. These craftsmen may have spent time in Italy or been trained by Italians in Gaul. The styles of the buildings in the residential quarter in the north of the excavated area are extremely varied, showing plans, decoration, construction techniques⁵⁸ and architectural elements which have origins across the Mediterranean world. We might mention, for example, the House of the Antae (Figure 24), whose plan (rooms in three wings around a courtyard with porticoes), and Rhodian, Corinthian and Ionic styles attested in its phases of development spanning the first century, would be at home in any Greek or Roman town.⁵⁹

8.2.6 Personal and deity names as indicators of cultural contacts (*Onomastica Glanicorum*)

In the debates on Hellenization and the ethnic composition at Glanum, the range of available material has not been fully exploited. The epigraphic record has been reduced to generalizations concerning the non-Latin inscriptions, namely, that the Gallo-Greek material is thoroughly indigenous and that there is virtually no evidence for Greek. No analytical study of the inscriptional evidence has been published.

One of the main issues is the lack of an up-to-date *corpus*. The useful series *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise* currently contains six volumes covering Aix-en-Provence, Alba, Antibes, Apt, Digne, Fréjus, Riez, Vienne, and an edition for Glanum is currently being assembled. Unfortunately, a publication date has not yet been set and the unpublished *corpus* was not available during this research. In order to analyse the onomastics of the site

⁵⁶ CAG 13/2 324–327. ⁵⁷ See Rolland 1968, Salviat 1972.

⁵⁸ See Congès and Bessac 1987. A detailed survey of construction methods and architecture across the whole site is required.

⁵⁹ CAG 13/2 357–359.



Figure 24 House of the Antae, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux.

and the close surrounding area, a new database, *Onomastica Glanicorum* (OG, Appendix 3), was produced in 2007 containing all the known personal and deity names from the site.⁶⁰ The main existing *corpora* (*CIL*, *IAG* and *RIG I*) were used to create this database. *IAG* was published by Rolland in 1944 as a revision and supplement to *CIL*. Although it contains over one hundred entries encompassing all the languages, the *corpus* is littered with errors and editorial inconsistencies and is now over sixty years out of date. The published material was therefore searched for further inscriptions. It soon became clear that the publication standard of *IAG* was mirrored throughout Rolland's work and, in particular, find-spots were often either not provided or ambiguous and imprecise, and dates were rarely included. In order to complete the database, which aimed to be as detailed as possible to maximize its utility, it was necessary to search the archaeological reports,

⁶⁰ The database excludes names in inscriptions which are known to be those of non-locals, e.g. *M(arcus) Agrippa* (CAG 13/2 305) and the names in five Imperial dedications found in the 'puits à dromos' (LX, under the forum, see Roth Congès 1992a and Giacobbi-Lequément 1993). It also excludes stamps on ceramic, which for the most part can be identified as originating from production centres outside Glanum. For *terra sigillata* at Glanum, see Bémont 1976.

inventories, index cards and photographs.⁶¹ Unfortunately, even after taking into account the unpublished material, the contextual information for many of the inscriptions remains inadequate. In searching the material I discovered unpublished inscriptions, some of which were not known to the editors of the forthcoming *ILN*, and all of which have subsequently been classified as ‘unpublished’ by Agusta-Boularot. Most of the preserved inscriptions were seen either at the Hôtel de Sade or the Musée des Alpilles to verify the readings and to appreciate the nature of the objects.⁶²

In *OG*, 256 personal names are presented first, followed by sixty-two deity names. The data are set out as follows:

- (1) Name.
- (2) Reference: main edition(s) first, followed by further bibliography.
- (3) Gender: gender of the name when known.
- (4) Name context: left blank if a single name. A comment is added when the name is a patronymic or matronymic, abbreviated, or part of a *duo nomina* or *tria nomina* formula.
- (5) Origin: the origin of the name is given when known. For the Celtic names, references to the relevant *onomastica* are provided.
- (6) Further details: these may include details of the rest of the inscription, non-alphabetical incised marks, problems with readings, completeness, linguistic features and *comparanda*.
- (7) Artefact: details where available of the object.
- (8) Find-spot: published information concerning the find-spot.
- (9) Number and details from inventory: the number assigned to the inscription is given, plus any unpublished details concerning the find-spot. These have been transcribed exactly as given in the inventory since a translation (and therefore, in some cases, an interpretation) might introduce errors to information which is often already ambiguous or opaque.
- (10) Date in *corpora*: published dates are provided.
- (11) Date from reports or formulae: dates are provided that have been gleaned from unpublished material (in italics) and suggestions have been made where datable formulae exist.

⁶¹ The written material concerning the archaeological site is mostly housed at the *SRA*. It was originally housed at the Hôtel de Sade along with the majority of the archaeological material, but several years ago much was relocated. However, some items were kept at the Hôtel de Sade and the resultant division of the material is not ideal.

⁶² I was not able to visit the depot attached to the Musée des Alpilles, but I am grateful to Virginie Olier for providing me with pictures of the inscriptions not on display in the museum.

The evidence, which spans several centuries, should not be incautiously treated as chronologically homogeneous. However, the nature of the contextual information means that precise dating remains elusive. The material can be tentatively split into two groups, pre (Glanum I and II) and post (Glanum III) the turn of the millennium. The early group of material, if insecurely dated examples are excluded, constitutes only around a quarter of the total, and is largely composed of Celtic names in Greek script (Gallo-Greek). Of the names that are long enough to be analysed, and are non-Celtic, we find the Latin name KOPNHΛIA (*RIG I G-65*) in a Gallo-Greek inscription (§7.1).⁶³ In Latin script, we encounter several of the well-known inscriptions from Glanum, including that of *Sex(tus) L(ucius) M(arcus) Iuliei C(aii) f(ili)ii* (*IAG 50*) on the mausoleum, which, despite the relatively persistent tradition, is not a cenotaph to members of the Imperial family (the date of the thirties is too early), but probably an ornate tomb for a local member of the Romanized elite.⁶⁴ *Co(rnelii) Sullae* (*IAG 72*) features on the mosaic of the *tablinum* of house XII, which nicely links to the only non-Gaulish name, KOPNHΛIA, in the Gallo-Greek inscriptions.⁶⁵ In the same house, in the ruins of the atrium we find a message scratched in the plaster stating that *Teucer hic fuit* (*IAG 79*),⁶⁶ complete with a handy reference to the consuls in office at the time (32 BC) and nearby *Maxu[mus?]* (*IAG 78*) has added his name. The design on the wall of the *exedra* (XXXI) of a scene of monuments and a ship, perhaps designed by one of our resident traders, is dated to the first century and is signed *Venustus* (*CAG 13/2 321*). What is clear from this brief catalogue is that Greek names do not feature. Though we might be disappointed by the relatively unspecific nature of the non-Celtic names (none are distinctively Oscan or Etruscan, for instance),⁶⁷ in this relatively early period they tend to point to Italy nonetheless.

When we move into the post-millennium phase, the picture changes considerably. The onomastic record shifts overwhelmingly in favour of Latin, which accounts for at least three-quarters of the total. Of the remaining non-Latin names, the numbers of Greek names are low: only eleven (out of up to 200 depending on the dating) are certainly Greek, with a further four

⁶³ For bibliographical references for all the inscriptions in this section, see *OG*.

⁶⁴ For the mausoleum and arch (*Les Antiques*), see *CAG 13/2 276–285, 288–295*, Rolland and Bruchet 1978, Salviat 1990.

⁶⁵ It is possible that some members of the community may have been clients of the *Cornelii*, see Heyn 2006 192.

⁶⁶ The name Teucer is not Latin in origin, but the Latinate context suggests that here we might view it in this way (see §5.1.3).

⁶⁷ The adoption of non-Latin Italian names into the Latin record from an early period means that such identification would be relatively unlikely.

uncertain examples. If we study the Greek names more closely, some interesting conclusions may be drawn. First, the distinctive Ionic nomenclature typically found in Phokaian colonies does not occur, nor do traits of the Ionic dialect often encountered in the onomastic record (§5.4). Though this lack cannot be evidence of the absence of colonial Greeks at the site, had their presence been significant we would perhaps have found more trace in the names. Indeed, the Greek names (e.g. *Eutychia*, *Eudaem[on]*, *Pilemae*, *Elpideforo*) stand out as non-geographically specific, potentially even indicative of slavery, though this kind of assumption is naturally dangerous. However, when the contexts of the inscriptions are taken into account, the assumption seems to be partly validated, as two of the nine inscriptions containing Greek names explicitly refer to freedmen: *conliberto benemerito* (IAG 51) and *C(ai) l(ibertus) . . . sibi . . . colliber(tae)* (IAG 57). The Greeks at Glanum seem to be deeply entwined in the Latin discourse; only one name approaches the Greek formula of personal name plus patronymic/matronymic genitive, and, even in this case, the daughter has taken a Latin name and the Latin filiation marker and votive formula have been employed: *Prima Pilemae f(ilia) VSLM* (IAG 45).

Celtic names, though clearly in the majority in the early period, are rare in later phases when Latin names dominate. Of about 200 post-millennium names only ten names (five per cent) might be assigned a Celtic origin. This is low, and if we investigate further, it is clear that the naming context in which these names are employed is rarely Celtic. Two naming contexts seem to ape the Latin *duo nomina* formulae: *Matto Kass[.]or* (CAG 13/2 309) and *Matislius Maximus* (IAG 58). The former inscription is fragmentary and the latter known only through a transcription, but the readings provided by CAG for the remainder of the inscriptions, *VSLA* and *sibi et suis p(edes) X latu(m)* respectively, nevertheless show a Latin context. Latin *Maximus* might well be a ‘cover name’ (§5.3.3). Another name, on a bronze stamp, in *duo nomina* format plus filiation and filiation marker, provides a *gentilicium* of Celtic origin: *T(itus) Allon(ius) Primi f(ilius)* (IAG 93). Other Celtic names are used in *tria nomina* context. The Celtic names in *Sex(tus) Valeri[us] Lutei f(ilius) Samicu[s]* (IAG 16) are that of the father, and the *cognomen* of the son, though the whole context is highly Latinate. The inscription is a dedication (*VSLM*) to *Minerva*. Another example has the Celtic name as the *cognomen*, *Sext(us) Iul(ius) Lu(t)to* (IAG 12), and the context, a dedication to *I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Conseruatori*, is again, at least superficially, Roman. A Celtic-named woman dedicates to the *D(is) M(anibus)* of her *marito piissimo* using only one name *Maticia* (IAG 56), though her husband is referred to with a *tria nomina* plus extra *cognomen*. A further Celtic name

occurs in a lost inscription known only from a dubious transcription, and the naming context is not fully extant, however, the addition of the Latin filiation marker *f(ilio)* after *Solimuti* (IAG 62) suggests, once again, a Latin context. Another Celtic name occurs in the formula personal name plus patronymic genitive, again with the Latin filiation marker: *Silanus Luteui f(ilius)* (IAG 41); this inscription is a dedication to a Celtic-named deity *Meldius*.

A study of the Latin nomenclature reveals surprising heterogeneity. No names, excluding the predictable *praenomina* and *gentilicia*, seem to be particularly frequent. This can be contrasted with the material from Aquae Sulis (Bath, Somerset), also a sanctuary based around a spring, and, more generally, with the Celtic names of Roman Britain.⁶⁸ In studying these names it was possible to identify preferred name elements in both Latin and Celtic and to uncover processes behind the adoption of names. For instance, Celtic 'cover names' with elements *Sen-*, *Bel-* and *Luc-* are particularly favoured in Britain. Yet the processes outlined in §5.3.3 cannot be easily uncovered in the material from Glanum, and only one possible, and rather tenuous, example of a cover name can be offered: *Matislius Maximus* (IAG 58). We might hazard a guess that the strategies employed in Britain and elsewhere, for instance at La Graufesenque, to adopt Latin names, but to retain the indigenous identity, were not so relevant at Glanum.

The low levels of non-Latin names in the post-millennium period are striking. The names on the curse tablets from Aquae Sulis present a marked contrast, with levels of Celtic names staying relatively high, roughly equalling Latin in the latest period. Even at a 'Romanized' site such as Binchester (County Durham, England), roughly a third of the names on a fourth-century AD tile (*RIB* II 2491.78) were Celtic. In interpreting the low levels of non-Latin names at an originally predominately indigenous site three main hypotheses can be advanced. First, a change in population may have occurred around the Augustan period which entailed the loss of the indigenous population. No evidence can be found for this either in the archaeological or literary record. Second, we might assume that the indigenous inhabitants remained in and around the area but were not involved in the epigraphic output. Whilst this cannot be disproved, it seems an unlikely scenario as they had previously been interested in expressing themselves epigraphically in Gallo-Greek. A final hypothesis might be that we are witnessing an aspect of 'becoming Roman'. This seems the most likely solution, particularly considering the nature of the building at the site during the

⁶⁸ For all the references to Roman Britain in this section, see Mullen 2007b.



Figure 25 View of geminate temples, showing reconstructed section, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux.

Imperial period, whose beginnings can be traced in the late first century with the creation of the geminate temples (Figure 25) and early phases of the baths and forum. A counter-argument might be levelled against the notion of a thoroughly Romanized indigenous city, namely the existence of an iconography of subjugation of Gauls on the arch, fountain and platform.⁶⁹ However, this might not necessarily have been the creation of the Roman authorities, but could be the product of the Mediterraneanized Gauls of Glanum themselves, who may have been proud of the choices they had made which led them to distinguish themselves from other Gaulish communities and to flourish under the new system of power.

Occasionally the possible adoption of Latin names by local peoples can be discovered through an analysis of other details in the inscriptions (§5.3.2). Though the reading poses difficulties, *L(ucius) C(ornelius) Viato[r]* (IAG 14.1) appears to be carrying out the instructions of *Ippona*, a Celtic deity,

⁶⁹ The platform and fountain show captives on one knee, which was not the preferred pose. Indeed, it has been suggested that this implies that the captive has not been fully subjugated, but is liable to rise up, see Castellvi 2003 461. For the fountain, see Augusta-Boularot, Follain and Robert 2004.

in making his dedication.⁷⁰ *Caec[us Firmus]* (IAG 39) dedicates to the otherwise unattested Celtic deity *Abianus*. [*P]eregrina* (CAG 13/2 342) dedicates to the *Iunonibus*, who can be associated with the *Matres* and possibly mask Celtic origins. Several further Celtic deities are attested in the Latin epigraphy without reference to their dedicators (IAG 10, 24, 40, 44, CAG 13/2 350). Any of these inscriptions could be the product of Celtic individuals and might support the 'becoming Roman' hypothesis presented above.

The inscriptions containing deity names are particularly important for uncovering cultural continuity and early Italian influence.⁷¹ Indeed, the *dedebatoudekanten* dossier is well represented at Glanum with three out of fourteen examples occurring at this site, and we have demonstrated that the influence for this formula is likely to have derived, at least in part, from Italy. Possible evidence of cultural continuity can be revealed by investigating the inscription containing the only non-Celtic name in the Gallo-Greek record at Glanum: KOPNHΛIA (RIG I G-65). This inscription includes the *dedebatoudekanten* formula (§7.2) and is dedicated to the ΠΟΚΛΟΙCΙΑΒΟ, thought to be the 'far-hearing goddesses'. This might be compared with the beautifully carved Latin inscription to the *Auribus* (IAG 18, Figure 26) of the first or second century AD, complete with a carving of a pair of ears within a wreath.⁷² The name of the *pia ministra* who dedicates is *Loreia*, a rare name, whose attestations outside *Gallia Narbonensis* (where it is found at Glanum and Narbonne (CIL XII 4731)) are restricted to *Italia* and *Alpes Poeninae*. This might again highlight continuity of practice, illustrated in the Gallo-Greek record by a woman from Italy, or with connections to Italy, worshipping the Celtic far-hearing goddesses and continued, in Latin guise, by another, perhaps from Italy.

⁷⁰ The first line of this inscription reads *IIX M IPPO* and has been interpreted as *ex m(onitu) Ippo(nae)*. The deity could be linked to Celtic *Epona*, attested at the site (IAG 10) on a first-century stone altar. Unfortunately, the first inscription poses numerous difficulties: the letter forms are unclear, the abbreviations are uncertain and another inscription is inscribed on the same stone pillar (probably found in house VII). I am grateful to Agusta-Boularot for showing me photographs of the inscription and squeezes. If *Ippo(nae)* is correct, we might have a Greek-influenced form of *Epona* (I for E and geminate P), though the fragility of the evidence prevents certainty.

⁷¹ For the process of *interpretatio*, see Häussler 2004–6 146–153, Rives 2007. *Interpretatio* and syncretism are better attested in the West for Roman- and Celtic-named deities than Greek and Celtic, though there are perhaps a few instances of the latter, e.g. Μητρόσι καὶ Διοσκόροι[s] (IGF 128 (Agde)), see Lévêque 1973 53–55.

⁷² Blétry 1998. A very similar altar is dedicated to *Bonae Deae* at Arles (CIL XII 654), again with a pair of ears within a wreath, perhaps a different *interpretatio* of the same Celtic deities. An inscription to *Bonae Deae* was also found at Glanum nearby that to the *Auribus* in house VII.



Figure 26 IAG 18, Glanum, Centre des monuments nationaux.

In general, the deities explicitly attested in the epigraphy of the site are almost exclusively Roman, ‘Italian’ or Celtic. An analysis of the deity names in *OG* suggests the following numbers of discrete attestations: 21 Roman, 18 Italic, 17 Celtic, plus 3 designated Roman/Celtic (*Auribus*, *Parcis trebus sororibus*, *Iunonibus*) and 1 ‘Greek/Roman’ (*Apollo*, though this attestation is not secure). Although assigning a ‘cultural label’ to deities is highly subjective and representative of the kind of reductive, essentializing, old-fashioned type of analysis attacked in Chapter 1, if attempted with care, it does present at least a rough picture of the possible mixtures of influences and choices. With the exception of *Apollo* (IAG 17), who may well have been conceived of as Greek, no other deities recorded in inscriptions are

distinctively Greek. Admittedly, the iconographic representations cannot be securely assigned and may include 'Greek' deities, but nevertheless their absence from the epigraphic record is striking. What is more, though several of the deities are part of the 'official' Roman pantheon (e.g. *Iuppiter*, *Iuno*, *Minerva* (IAG 18)), many have a more rural Italian flavour, for example, the three *terrae* (IAG 27) and the most popular deity at the site, *Silvanus* 'tuscoulois',⁷³ who, with the mallet as his symbol, is often associated with the Gaulish god *Sucellus*.⁷⁴ The popularity of this god probably resulted in the use of the personal name *Silanus* (IAG 31, 41, and possibly 33a) at the site.

Häussler (2004–6, 2007b) argues that local elites of Southern Gaul are key in creating Romano-Celtic cults which differ considerably from those of the pre-Roman period, the main features being the rejection of some indigenous practices and creation of many 'new' gods. He fits Glanum into this schema, but the available evidence may be quite different from that of other sites in Southern Gaul, not least with regards to the lower number of Celtic-named deities in the Latin epigraphy. The entirety of the religious material from Glanum, both non-epigraphic and epigraphic, deserves an extended treatment, with particular attention to the question of its place in the religious landscape of Mediterranean Gaul.⁷⁵

8.2.7 Multiplicity of influences

Glanum is not 'le site indigène le plus grec de Provence',⁷⁶ but rather, le site indigène le plus méditerranéen. We have shown that the epigraphic evidence supports the direction of modern archaeological and historical work on the site. What has previously been viewed as Hellenization can be described as Mediterraneanization: influence for the creation and development of Gallo-Greek itself, the formulae of the inscriptions, the nomenclature, the monumental structures and the housing are part of changes motivated by the indigenous populations in contact with the cultures of the Mediterranean basin. By emphasizing the evidence for Italian influence within this Mediterranean *koine* we are not suggesting that Italian settlers moved to

⁷³ Grenier 1955–6 135.

⁷⁴ This Italian deity probably spread from central Italy to the provinces. In Gaul the main concentration is in *Gallia Narbonensis*, with Nîmes and Glanum providing the most evidence. See Dorcéy 1992 for a detailed discussion of *Silvanus* (56–59 for *Narbonensis*).

⁷⁵ For discussions of the religions of Glanum, see De Brun 1935, 1941, Gros 1995, Häussler 2004–6, 2007b, Picard 1963, Roth Congès 1997. Ralph Häussler is currently preparing a monograph on the religions of Southern Gaul which will include a chapter on Glanum.

⁷⁶ Hermery, Hesnard and Tréziny 1999 117.

Glanum *en masse* during the second and first centuries and that no Greeks were involved, but rather that Hellenization should be seen as one part of a multiplicity of interactions, and not predominately based on contact with the Massaliote Greeks as traditionally argued.⁷⁷ Though Glanum remains exceptional in many respects, not least in having an extensive monumental centre of Graeco-Italic architecture, recent research has demonstrated that the urban monumental development and early Graeco-Italiote influences can be paralleled at other sites in the region, such as Constantine, Saint-Blaise and Martigues.⁷⁸ As Roth Congès reminds us: ‘Il ne faut pas sous-estimer la réalité de liens directs entre les riverains indigènes de la basse vallée du Rhône et cette *koinè* hellénistique méditerranéenne.’⁷⁹

8.3 The Aristaion

8.3.1 An exceptional discovery

The sanctuary of Aristaïos, situated at the site known as La Tour de l’Acapte on the Presqu’île de Giens approximately 5 kilometres from the Greek settlement of Olbia, has fascinated and frustrated scholars since its discovery in 1967. The published archaeological details are scanty, though the archaeological reports show that no significant man-made structures have been identified.⁸⁰ The archaeologists date activity at the sanctuary from the end of the second century BC to the beginning of the first century AD. The sanctuary appears to have been centred on a striking rock formation (Figure 27),⁸¹ with votive deposits found at the base and spread over an area of approximately 18 × 10 metres. The finds are stated as: 40,000 fragments of ceramic (representing 600 vases), some lamps and amphorae, three intaglios and 200 coins.⁸² To this should be added numerous nails, rivets and tacks, which possibly held together a wooden structure.⁸³ According to CAG, an estimated 230 vases include inscribed dedications, though the doctoral thesis, MG, still the only major work on the site, notes: ‘sur 600 à 650 vases recueillis il s’avère que 80% sont inscrits.’⁸⁴ In 1983 it seems

⁷⁷ Arcelin 1991 235 suggests that Arles may have been an important point of contact and influence.

⁷⁸ See Verdin 1998 30–31, 2003 569–570. ⁷⁹ Roth Congès 1992c 54.

⁸⁰ Accessed at the SRA in 2007.

⁸¹ For veneration at outcrops, see Horden and Purcell 2000 414.

⁸² The figures have been taken from CAG 83/1 475–476 no.069.82*, as this is the most up-to-date published source; variant figures can be found in the other publications. For the coins, see CAG 83/1 476, with relevant bibliography.

⁸³ MG page 162. ⁸⁴ MG page 11.



Figure 27 Sanctuary of Aristaïos.

to have been uncertain exactly how many vases were inscribed: *MG* 1–295 include inscriptions, 296–324 consist of vases classified typologically ‘dont nous ne savons s’ils sont inscrits’, 325–439 are ‘vases à parois fines’, nearly all of which were thought to be inscribed, 440–511 are ‘vases de pâte claire’ whose inscriptions were badly worn. The extremely fragmentary nature of the ceramic suggested to the archaeologists ‘un bris rituel’,⁸⁵ and as a result the effort required to reconstruct the inscriptions means that in 1983 fewer than 300 were presented, and no advances have so far been made public.

The material gleaned from this sanctuary is almost completely restricted to ceramics, and the Greek inscriptions on the sherds painstakingly reassembled by Giffault (*MG* 1–295), plus two in Latin (*MG* 294, 295), constitute our main source of information. Indeed, without the inscriptions we would be unaware that the sanctuary is dedicated to Ἀρισταῖος; the texts also mention a βωμός (*MG* 212, *IGF* 68–2) and ‘les offrandes sacrificielles’ (*MG* 30, *IGF* 68–3 known only through a French translation). The announcement in 2000 that ‘cet ensemble [...] devrait être prochainement publié par M. Giffault et M. Bats’⁸⁶ has been verified by Michel Bats; a group publication is in progress which will treat the totality of the evidence from

⁸⁵ *MG* page 9, see pages 159–162 for a discussion of various possibilities.

⁸⁶ Hermary 2000b 8 note 4.

the sanctuary.⁸⁷ Articles have discussed various aspects of the texts, though never in a comprehensive manner: the desired package of detailed transcription, commentary, translation, image, exact archaeological context and description of the object is rarely obtained, and then only through a collation of various publications.⁸⁸ Decourt's presentation in *IGF* is the most convenient available, though he did not have access to *MG* and details only a small number of inscriptions.⁸⁹ Further to the lacunose quality of the documentation, a serious *caveat* must also be added: without photographs (only a handful are available) or access to the artefacts to verify the readings, they remain insecure until the definitive publication. Indeed, restrictions on the dissemination of the readings might be due to significant revisions projected for the publication of the site.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, despite the *caveats*, and in full awareness that conclusions will need to be reconsidered once the full *corpus* is published, this crucial body of evidence will be treated.

8.3.2 Patronymy

The inscriptions are largely composed of names, which will be discussed in detail here, starting with naming formulae and then passing on to nomenclature. Some of the inscriptions also include formulaic phrases or lexical items which will be considered at §8.3.4.

Giffault suggests seventy per cent of the dedicants named in the graffiti are male. According to Giffault's calculations from 196 complete inscriptions, thirty-eight per cent of male names are found with a patronymic, whereas for female names the figure is around seventeen per cent.⁹¹ Although we should probably assign all the inscriptions (bar two Latin ones) to Greek, not Gallo-Greek, the names in the Aristaion suggest an environment of Greek–Gaulish

⁸⁷ In 2007 Michel Bats suggested (p.c.) a date of publication of 2010, it now looks unlikely that the publication will appear in the near future.

⁸⁸ Bats 1988a 134, 2003a 374, 2004 16–17 (brief comments), 2010a (nine inscriptions cited and four images); Coupry and Giffault 1981 (images and French translations for a general audience); Coupry and Giffault 1982 (a list of Greek names, the most frustrating of the publications, as the largest number of inscriptions are treated, but no details other than the names are given); Coupry and Giffault 1984 (discussion of non-Greek onomastics; this article is full of errors according to a copy marked with the instances by Coupry in the *Fonds Michel Lejeune* (Lyon)); Coupry and Giffault 1989 (overview with translations of seven inscriptions); Giffault and Coupry 1990 (overview with an inventory including twenty-four inscriptions); Goudineau 1975 562–563 (brief mention of the site and an image of one inscription); Masson 1988 and Morel 2000b (discuss the name Οὔλις).

⁸⁹ *IGF* page 79.

⁹⁰ Giffault notes: 'Il m'a longtemps semblé prématuré de donner un caractère quelque peu définitif à un travail de synthèse en cours d'élaboration constante' (*MG* page 2).

⁹¹ *MG* page 168.



Figure 28 IGF 68–28, Aristaion.



Figure 29 IGF 68–35, Aristaion.

contact. One clear instance of patronymic suffixation exists for the Gaulish names: [Aδ]ρετιλλος Σολιμαριος (MG 8, IGF 68–28 (revised), Figure 28), who is probably the same character as in IGF 68–27, MG 7: Αδρετιλος ὑπὲρ Σολιμαρου τοῦ πατρός.⁹² The choice of suffixation coincides with Aeolic Greek suffixation, so it is not clear whether this is a code-switch into a Gaulish mode of presentation or not (§§4.2.2, 5.2.2). In contradistinction to the pattern throughout Southern Gaul in Gallo-Greek inscriptions, the rest of the instances involving Gaulish names employ the ‘Greek’ patronymic genitive as we might expect in Greek inscriptions: Διονύσερμος Κελτ[ι]κίου (MG 80, IGF 68–14), [Δ]ιονύσιος Λουβίου (MG 87, IGF 68–34), Ρεγοαλος Ουελαυνου (MG 221, IGF 68–35, Figure 29), Ρεγου[α]λος Ουελαυνου (MG 222, IGF 68–36), Ουενινος Κονγενοαλου (MG 185, IGF 68–37), Ριγιλος Θη[ρί]δου (MG 223, IGF 68–40), Σεγυννος Λάρχ[ο]υ (MG 225, IGF 68–41), Εὔμηλος Σεγυννου (MG 111, IGF 68–42). It is striking that the one instance of suffixation tallies with a Greek form and that the usual pattern, which is not normal within Gallo-Greek, is the standard Greek form. This suggests that the Celtic-named individuals were well integrated into the

⁹² The hands appear to be different, see Bats 2004 16.

Greek discourse. It will be argued below that some of these genitives might not mark genuine filiation, but the alternatives also hint at close ties.

The Greek examples of patronymy are themselves of interest and do not demonstrate the regularity found in the non-Roman-influenced inscriptions of *IGF*, which generally show a simple patronymic genitive. One puzzling form is Διονύσιος υῶς,⁹³ where Διονύσιος is the only name in the inscription (*MG* 82, *IGF* 68–8); the name formula Ζηνοθέμιος τοῦ Οὔλιος (*MG* 116, *IGF* 68–16) also stands out. These examples might simply show some confusion, perhaps due to a low level of competency, rather than the results of language contact. No adequate information as to the number of hands or the standard of the letter forms at the Aristaion is provided. Coupry's brief remark that 'en tout cas la diversité des mains dénote l'alphabétisation générale de la population'⁹⁴ evokes little confidence: he may not, for example, have considered the possibility of templates or scribes, and the production of many of the inscriptions would have required no more than signature literacy.⁹⁵

8.3.3 Nomenclature

The evidence from this sanctuary offers a rare opportunity to study a large cache of names from a defined context. This can be compared to the mixture of Latin and Celtic names in the Bath curse tablets, where research has attempted to integrate the evidence from the shrine with the material in the surrounding area.⁹⁶ Considering the proximity of the sanctuary to the Greek colony Olbia, a similar comparison would be ideal, and might reveal possible links and whether the colony itself presents similar proportions of Gaulish and Greek names. Unfortunately, the graffiti from Olbia,⁹⁷ which might be of particular importance considering the claims of Coupry that these include many inscriptions in Greek letters which are 'vraisemblablement ou assurément non grecs', are also still awaiting publication.⁹⁸ These graffiti, mostly from domestic settings, have now been assembled and number around 240 (they numbered only a 'cinquantaine' in Coupry's time). They

⁹³ The omission of the iota in this lexeme is a feature of Attic. Between c. 450 and 100, υῶς is the standard Attic form, see Thraette 1980 338–342.

⁹⁴ Coupry and Giffault 1981 33.

⁹⁵ See Mullen 2007a 42 for the possible use of templates at Aquae Sulis. Indeed Bats has remarked recently (2010a 51) that dedications of the same dedicant sometimes appear written in different hands, and suggests that scribes may have been involved.

⁹⁶ See Mullen 2007b.

⁹⁷ CAG 83/1 445. No details of the inscriptions were available in the rapports de fouilles (*SRA*).

⁹⁸ Coupry 1971 144.

will be presented in full in the volume which Bats will edit on Hellenistic Olbia.⁹⁹

Of the individuals in *MG*, the majority, around eighty-seven per cent, are Greek-named (c. 200 out of 230). Once grouped thematically the names display some preferences.¹⁰⁰ One theme seems to be a penchant for theophoric names and names otherwise associated with the religious sphere (e.g. Θύρσος (*MG* 133)). Of the theophoric names, the following deities are listed by Giffault in order of descending frequency: Dionysios, Demeter, Zeus, Poseidon and Herakles.¹⁰¹ The omission of Apollo from this list must be an oversight: six 'direct' attestations occur (Ἀπολλόδωρος (*MG* 24), Ἀπολλωνίδης (*MG* 25, 26, 27, 19), Ἀπολλώνιος (*MG* 32)) and as many as twenty-one 'indirect' attestations (Δήλιος (*MG* 58), Ουλα (*MG* 187, 188), Οὔλις (*MG* 76, 116, 145, 146, 181, 189–192, 239, *IGF* 68–16, 68–5, 68–11, 68–26, 68–10), Πύθα (*MG* 216), Πύθις (*MG* 20, 37, 217, 218), Πυθῶναξ (*MG* 3, 219, 220)). This places Apollo a close second to Dionysios, perhaps not surprising considering the association of Marseille with Apollo, though by that token it seems strange that Artemis, another important goddess according to literary sources (see §8.3.5), only occurs once and the attestation is not assured (Ἀρτ[(*MG* 33)). The fact that over forty per cent of the anthroponyms at the site are divine or sacred should not provoke any particular interest, even though it has been claimed that this figure exceeds the 'moyennes courantes',¹⁰² as theophoric names were common in Greek nomenclature and are particularly unsurprising, perhaps, at a cultic site.

Another preference mentioned in the literature is for 'noms évoquant la fonction archaïque de royauté, la puissance et le commandement', which is claimed to reinforce once again the concept of 'le conservatisme marseillais' (§5.4).¹⁰³ Though several names are associated with this semantic sphere, again this does not diverge from the Greek norm, nor are they particularly abundant in the overall scheme, which includes the theophoric names, names describing character or physique, animal names and geographical names. Much more significant are the names which are uncommon across the Greek world but are attested, sometimes relatively frequently, in the graffiti. Several names even seem to be *hapax legomena* (e.g. Ἀγοράδης (*MG* 110), Ὀρέας (*MG* 88–89)). In §5.4 it was argued that, though the language of Southern Gaul probably did not retain an Ionic colour through

⁹⁹ The graffiti will be edited therein by Sarrazanas (p.c. 2011). A preliminary discussion will be published by Sarrazanas (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁰ A full exposé of the distribution and significance of every Greek name should wait for the full publication.

¹⁰¹ *MG* page 164.

¹⁰² Giffault and Couprie 1990 216.

¹⁰³ Giffault and Couprie 1990 216.

the Hellenistic period, the onomastic record of the Greek colonies remains distinctively Ionic and Phokaian. The names from the Aristaion are no exception, see Table 10 in Chapter 5. In addition, we might note that of the names evoking a geographical area, all but one, Λίβυς (MG 160), refer to Asia Minor: Ἀσία (MG 36),¹⁰⁴ Ἀσίας (MG 37), Ἰωνία (MG 140), Ἐφεσος (MG 114).¹⁰⁵

Of the non-Greek names at the site, non-Gaulish names are uncommon.¹⁰⁶ Two Latin names occur, though, of course, the owners could be Gaulish- and/or Greek-speaking: *L. Aemilius* (MG 294) and *Valeria* (MG 295). Coupry and Giffault claim that three names (Ἄνα (MG 17–22), Λίβυς (MG 160, IGF 68–46), Ἀρίς (MG 28, 29, IGF 68–47, 68–48)) could be Punic.¹⁰⁷ The first appears in half the cases with Greek patronymics and might have been viewed as Greek, the second might equally refer to someone with links to North Africa rather than a North African *per se* (who might at any rate not be Punic-speaking) and the third can easily be interpreted as Greek. Though the possibility that the site may also have included Punic-speaking participants fits perfectly with our overall thesis of multiculturalism, we should have no illusions as to the quality of the available evidence.

By far the most numerous non-Greek-named dedicants are Gaulish-named, although in several cases the affiliation of the names is doubtful (see §5.2.2 for the criteria on which the origins of names are judged). Coupry and Giffault 1984 do not categorize the names as in Table 11 and their discussion should be treated with caution.

Two particularly interesting features arise concerning the names in this table. First, a number of the Celtic names are attested with Greek names, either with Greek patronymics (Πιγίλος Θη[ρί]δου, Σεγυννος Ἀρχ[ο]υ) or as Celtic patronymics with Greek names (Διονύσερμος Κελτικίου, Εὔμηλος Σεγυννου, [Δ]ιονύσιος Λουβίου, Φιλιστακη Τρεκκων[ο]ς). Such mixed Celtic–Greek names are unattested elsewhere in Gaul and, to my knowledge, are not common in other parts of the ancient world (§5.3.3). Without further contextual information we cannot be certain of the nature of the relationships. The most obvious, and the most likely, scenario is that these genitives do reflect genuine filiation. However, other possibilities must be considered. Some of the ‘Celtic’ patronymics, for instance, might reflect the commemoration by Greeks of guest–friendship relationships

¹⁰⁴ For ethnics used as names and their significance, see McLean 2002 92.

¹⁰⁵ This may be a place-name not a personal name (see §8.3.5).

¹⁰⁶ For the discussion of non-Greek names, see Coupry and Giffault 1984.

¹⁰⁷ Coupry and Giffault 1984 216–217.

Table 11 *Celtic names of the Aristaion*

Celtic name	Inscriptional references	GPN <i>comparanda</i>	KGPN <i>comparanda</i>	NPC <i>comparanda</i>	Remarks
Secure examples					
Αδρετιλος	MG 7, IGF 68–27	249–250	115–116	13	Three variant forms of this name
Σολιμαρου	MG 7, IGF 68–27	223–228	271	170	Patronymic genitive
Αδ]ρετιλλος	MG 8, IGF 68–28	249–250	115–116	13	Patronymic adjective
Σολιμαριος	MG 8, IGF 68–28	223–228	271	170	
Α[δ]ρετλος	MG 9, IGF 68–29	249–250	115–116	13	Patronymic genitive. Whilst the Κελτ- root was an external designation, it is possible that it was originally based on a local designation (see §1.2, Strabo 4.1.14), and this may be reflected here, see below.
Βιτουνα	MG 55, IGF 68–12	–	150	43	
Κατοου []λα	MG 258, IGF 68–32	171–175	167–169	61	
Κελτ<ι>κίου	MG 80, IGF 68–14	332–333	170	63	
Κνουελα	MG 149, IGF 68–18	–	–	68	
Λικινος	MG 161, IGF 68–33	359–360	232	117	Cf. §6.4.1
Ολιτταιας	MG 183, IGF 68–30	237–238	250–251	144–145	
Ουελαυνος	MG 184, IGF 68–6	272–277	288–289	193	
Ουενινος	MG 185, IGF 68–37	277–279	289–290	194–195	

Κονγενοαλου	<i>MG 185, IGF 68–37</i>	183–186	180	72	Patronymic genitive
Ρεγοαλος	<i>MG 221, IGF 68–35</i>	243–249	260–261	152	Two variant forms
Ουελαunu	<i>MG 221, IGF 68–35</i>	272–277	288–289	193	Patronymic genitive. Cf. §6.4.1
Ρεγου[α]λος	<i>MG 222, IGF 68–36</i>	243–249	260–261	152	
Ουελαunu	<i>MG 222, IGF 68–36</i>	272–277	288–289	193	Patronymic genitive. Cf. §6.4.1
Ριγιλος	<i>MG 223, IGF 68–40</i>	243–249	260–261	153–154	
Σεγυννος	<i>MG 225, IGF 68–41</i>	254–257	265–266	163–164	Adams 2007 415
Σεγυννου	<i>MG 111, IGF 68–42</i>	254–257	265–266	163–164	Patronymic genitive
Less secure examples					
Δηιουιομαριο[υ	<i>MG 183, IGF 68–30</i>				Patronymic genitive
Δοκελ[?]α	<i>MG 102, IGF 68–31</i>				
Κομεντων	<i>MG 150, IGF 68–9</i>				
Λουβιου	<i>MG 87, IGF 68–34</i>				Patronymic genitive
Ουιβοτνος	<i>MG 168, IGF 68–38</i>				
Παρμενικκα	<i>MG 80, IGF 68–14</i>				Hybrid name? Greek root, Celtic suffix? See below
Ραιτιλος	<i>MG 485, IGF 68–39</i>				
Φιλιστακη	<i>MG 235, IGF 68–4</i>				Hybrid name? Greek root, Celtic suffix? See below
Τρεκκων[ο]ς	<i>MG 235, IGF 68–4</i>				Patronymic genitive
]ΓΟΥΑΡΙΗΟΥ	<i>MG 269, IGF 68–45</i>				Patronymic genitive?

(*xenia*) with Celtic-speaking individuals, thus masking a Greek father–son relationship.¹⁰⁸ Another potential reason for these mixed names may be ownership, i.e. Πιγίλος may be the slave of Θηρίδης, as the standard Greek formula for the master–slave relationship simply employs the possessive genitive.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, one inscription referring to a freedwoman, Πι[-]ου ἀπελευθέρᾳ (MG 205), perhaps supports this suggestion.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, the references to 'son', υἱός (MG 82, 88, 89), which are not common in Greek naming formulae, except in contact with Latin, might indicate the desire of certain individuals to mark their free-born status in an environment where servile status may have been common. All three options may be represented even in the few examples attested, and all three, significantly, entail a background of close contacts between Greeks and *indigènes*: the adoption of names through contact from one linguistic group into another, the ties of *xenia*, and the participation of slaves in the dedications.

The last cited instance of a mixed name, Φιλιστακη Τρεκκων[ο]ς, provides a further indicator of language contact. Both Φιλιστακη (MG 235–237, IGF 68–4, 68–43, 68–44) and Παρμενικκα (MG 80, IGF 68–14) have been viewed as hybrid names. Φιλιστ- is a well-attested Greek name element, with over 300 instances appearing in the online LGPN search. Of these, however, none includes the -ακη suffix, attested in only a handful of names in LGPN.¹¹¹ It has been suggested that -ακη is the feminine version of the Celtic suffix *par excellence* -ako (§5.2.2).¹¹² Similarly, the name Παρμενικκα is based on the element Παρμεν-, which is well attested in Southern Gaul (over ten times at the Aristaion, and also IGF 29, 30, 34), but ends with a suffix which only appears very rarely across all the volumes of the LGPN. The suffix cannot be as securely assigned to Gaulish as -ακη, but attestations of this form in Roman Britain (*Boudicca* (Agr. 16.1), *Veldicca* (RIB I 358)) and Gaul (e.g. *Ađepicca* (DAG 186)) indicate that this might be a second instance of a hybrid name. In the inscriptions the names are associated with other names: Φιλιστακη Τρεκκων[ο]ς (MG 235, IGF 68–4) and Διονύσερμος Κελτκίου . . . Παρμενικκα (MG 80, IGF 68–14). The first appears with a possibly Celtic genitive (patronymic?) Τρεκκων[ο]ς and the second with a

¹⁰⁸ Livy (27.36.3) makes mention of Massaliotes in guest–friendship relationships with *principes Gallorum*.

¹⁰⁹ For the difficulty in identifying slaves, see McLean 2002 102–103, 127–131.

¹¹⁰ This term is not usually employed in Greek formulae, see McLean 2002 128–129.

¹¹¹ It must be remembered that the LGPN includes non-Greek names attested in Greek inscriptions, so it can not be used uncritically as a repository of linguistically Greek names, see LGPN IV ix, Va xv–xvi.

¹¹² The -ακος suffix seems to have been employed in Greek only where the name ends in -ιος and the addition of -ικος would therefore mask the -ιος element (Paul Russell p.c.).

character (perhaps a brother or husband) with a typically Phokaian name (Διονύσερμος) plus a genitive Κελτκίου, which has generally been classed as a Celtic name, though it could easily be carried by a Greek-speaking individual to mark close ties with the indigenous inhabitants of the area. In both cases, therefore, other elements in the inscriptions imply Celticity, which supports the notion of hybrid name forms. This striking form of negotiation, combining elements of two different languages, presumably to create a dual identity, distinguishes this site in the context of Gaulish–Greek interaction in Southern Gaul and probably in terms of the evidence for Celtic–Greek interaction elsewhere.

8.3.4 Formulae and lexical items

This sanctuary is isolated in terms of *comparanda*. Aristaïos ‘ne semble pas avoir fait l’objet de culte organisé à l’échelon d’une cité: le sanctuaire rupestre de *L’Acapte* est le seul cas connu dans le bassin méditerranéen’.¹¹³ The formulae of the graffiti are interesting, but little discussed. Several formulae or dedicatory terms are attested: χάριν ἔχων/-ουσα being the most common (70), followed by χάριν λεγόμενος/-η (30), εὐχὴν (28), ἀνάθεμα (22), χάριν (23). Some of the instances of χάριν may belong to either of the first two formulae, and the term χάρις appears to be the most significant concept for the written aspect at least of these rites, occurring in 123 inscriptions. Other terms attested more than once include: ἀνατίθημι (16), δῶρον (4), χαριστήριον/-α (5).

From dedications known all over the Greek world, it appears that χάριν ἔχων/-ουσα and χάριν λεγόμενος/-η are not attested.¹¹⁴ Of course, it could be argued that relatively few of this type of predominantly ‘natural’ sanctuaries have been discovered and therefore only a small number of the dedicatory formulae may be known; however, it does seem striking that both formulae are unattested in what is, after all, a relatively well-documented ancient society. Decourt admits that he is perplexed by χάριν λεγόμενος/-η and suggests that the formula may be a translation of a Gaulish votive formula. As supporting evidence, Decourt notes that, of the examples that he has edited, all the instances of the formula (*IGF* 68–30, 68–34, 68–35) involve Celtic

¹¹³ CAG 83/1 476. Only one other dedication to Aristaïos exists: Μεγαλ[ῆς] Λουκίου ὁ Πρωμαῖος Ἀρισταῖον (*BE* 1953 272, *IGF* page 85 note 152, *SEG* 14 603 (Ischia)).

¹¹⁴ The former is reported to be unattested in dedicatory graffiti of the type at the Aristaion (Angelos Chaniotis p.c.); in fact only eight instances are recorded in *PHI* (which are all partly or fully restored). The latter is perhaps even more unusual, unattested in the *PHI* database, Decourt notes ‘on ne dispose en effet d’aucun parallèle’ (*IGF* page 85). See Guarducci 1967–78 III 1–89 for votive dedications.

names, with the exception of Διονύσιος (IGF 68–34). This is an example of how the partial and confusing publications available to Decourt have led to a misinterpretation. The vast majority of the examples of this formula are in fact attested with Greek names; the Celtic names do not show a particular preference for this formula over the others. The inscriptions with Celtic names were published more fully, which means most of Decourt's instances of the formula included Celtic names. In fact, no formula can be attached to a specific language group. Despite this, the uniqueness of the two major formulae do support the conjecture of the possible effects of language contact, and the rare mixture of Greek and Gaulish names in the graffiti encourages us to pursue this route.

The possibility of language contact and the unusual formulae of the site might lead us to wonder whether the sanctuary appears in the second century as a new addition to the religious landscape, or whether we might reasonably consider that what has been transmitted to us is a continuation of an earlier indigenous cultic site. An overview of 'indigenous' sanctuaries of the Midi notes that, of the open-air examples, three main focal points exist: springs, caves and summits, and that at these sites graffiti are relatively rare.¹¹⁵ This could explain the absence of physical remains at the Aristaion from the hypothetical indigenous period. The Greeks may have converted speech acts at the site into written acts, which could explain the use of the participial form within the formula χάριν λεγόμενος/-η, an explicit reminder of the speech act which it encoded. Writing was central in Graeco-Roman paganism. As Beard has argued, through writing individuals inscribed their identity within the religious sphere, recorded their participation in permanent form, set up relationships with their deities and established the structure of the cult.¹¹⁶ The importance of one's name was essential (unlike in Christianity), and inscriptions from the Aristaion contain a large proportion of onomastic material, some of which shows signs of care taken to designate the individual accurately.

It might also be possible that this sanctuary was a new addition to the area, but that cultural and linguistic contacts heavily influenced the formulae used. Aristaion himself provides no obvious clues: he does not appear to have been involved in the *interpretatio* of Celtic regions, nor does an equivalent Celtic-named god, from which Aristaion may have been calqued,

¹¹⁵ See Barruol 1994. Barruol notes that the finds at Sauze D'Oulx (Italy) contain numerous graffiti (1994 57). Cf. also the Vaugrenier graffiti (§6.4.2).

¹¹⁶ Beard 1991, see also 2004. See De Polignac 2005 for the public (act of writing) and private (destined for the deity not the public) nature of cultic graffiti.

come to mind. Though not a major god, and poorly attested epigraphically, Aristaion is well known in literature,¹¹⁷ and his major attribute, that of providing humans with means to benefit from nature (e.g. traps, bee-keeping, oil presses, medicines), would be suitable for the area. The Greeks certainly brought with them new technology, and they, or maybe the locals themselves, may have wished to emphasize these beneficial attributes of the colonization process at this sanctuary.

It might be hoped that the details of language contact at the Aristaion could be traced in the formulae, as was demonstrated for the ΔΕΔΕΒΡΑ-ΤΟΥΔΕΚΑΝΤΕΝ formula (§7.2). Indeed, it seems significant that the most recurrent feature of the inscriptions at the Aristaion, χάρις, might well be the concept ΒΡΑΤΟΥ attested in the Gallo-Greek inscriptions, which we were able to associate with the equivalent term in the Oscan formula *brateis datas* ‘on account of favour granted’, the *grat*- root and Latin *merito*. The only non-onomastic material in Latin from the site in fact includes a non-standard rendition of *merito*: MG 295: VALERIA DAT E MERTO. Unfortunately, on the current evidence, the details cannot be pursued any further.

Whatever the potential evidence for language contact at the site, the language so far presented is Greek. The term ἀνάθεμα occurs several times, and this is otherwise overwhelmingly attested in inscriptions from the Aegean island region. Though we should wait for the full publication before we enter into detail, it is important to caution against the view that the language of the inscriptions is ‘grec de couleur ionienne, avec aussi quelques traits particuliers d’archaïsme ionien’.¹¹⁸ This claim was no doubt fostered in part by the misleading discussions in the literature referring to the Ionic linguistic composition of region throughout the Hellenistic period (§5.4). In fact, analysis of the inscriptions available demonstrates that, aside from the Ionic particularities of the onomastic record, the language generally presents traits of the Koine, as we would expect in this period (§5.4). The full publication of all the inscriptional evidence is eagerly awaited in order to reconsider the claim more comprehensively.

8.3.5 Constructions of identity

We saw in Chapter 6 the complexity of responses to contacts with Greek culture through the apparently uneven spread of the Greek language, which

¹¹⁷ IGF pages 79, 83–84 provides bibliography and discussion.

¹¹⁸ Coupry and Giffault 1981 33.

seemed to be largely restricted to the colonies and trading contexts. The Aristaion, though admittedly very close to the colony of Olbia, offers evidence for Greek–indigenous interactions in a rural, cultic context, reminding us of the heterogeneity of interactions and communities and the dangers of overgeneralization.

An essential factor in the construction of Greek identities in Southern Gaul must have been interaction with indigenous communities, indeed 'it is impossible to study the Greek colonies in isolation from their local (non-Greek) environment'.¹¹⁹ Yet relatively little work has delved into the complexities of Greek identity in the area, the focus being rather on Greek–indigenous contact outside the colonies. Traditionally, the Greek colonies were viewed as bastions of Greekness, and somewhat impervious to contamination (§1.5.4). More sophisticated recent approaches have perhaps been marred by a tendency to oversimplify in the opposite direction; the Phokaian colonies are now characterized by their 'extraordinary openness to the indigenous world'¹²⁰ and 'their ability to absorb and assimilate non-Greek populations into their community'.¹²¹ However, the archaeological and linguistic information forces us to view the area as populated by a series of diverse communities, each interacting with each other and the Greek colonists in different ways. In response to heterogeneous indigenous communities, the colonial Greeks in Southern France may have presented a range of identities depending on their relations with the particular community involved and the context, whether trade, war or intermarriage.¹²² Though the area of Olbia provides evidence for close contacts, the indigenous site of Costabelle, about 2 kilometres to the north of Olbia and whose remains appear to be largely dated to the fourth century, may perhaps have been destroyed by its neighbouring Greek colonists.¹²³ Marseille offers very little evidence of indigenous–Greek contact in its epigraphy, has strained relations with its hinterland and yet uses indigenous cookware in some of its homes, and, different again, Emporion presents a 'δῖπολις' colony inhabited both by Greeks and *indigènes*, divided by a wall (Strabo 3.4.8, Livy 34.9).¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Lomas 2004c 13. ¹²⁰ Domínguez 2004 446. ¹²¹ Lomas 2006 176.

¹²² Cf. the evidence for mixed Greek–Carian names which differs from city to city in Asia Minor, see Hall 2002 101.

¹²³ We still know relatively little about this site, which would benefit from modern excavations. The early excavation was published by Couprie 1954 20–31. I am grateful to Michel Bats for discussing this site with me.

¹²⁴ See, for instance, Sanmartí 1992. It appears that Iberians inhabited the area to the east of the Greek settlement (the 'Neapolis'), beyond the fifth-century, Greek fortification wall. The Iberians were then incorporated into the expanded Greek city through a fourth-century

Greek identity was fluid, complex and multidimensional and the Aristaion presents evidence that allows a rare insight into these negotiations in Southern Gaul, which have not been painted in any detail in the scholarship. It requires no leap of faith to assume that at least some of the Greeks dedicating near the Massaliote colony, Olbia, were local. Indeed, of seven names on a second- or first-century *tabella defixionis* from a sanctuary in Olbia itself (*IGF* 70), all are also attested at the Aristaion, with the exception of Ἀριστίων[ος], implying a distinctive nomenclature for the area, if not necessarily the attestation of the same individuals. The intriguing inscriptions from the Aristaion display multilayered expressions of identity, including potentially *polis*/civic-based allegiance (Massaliote), Phokaian and pan-Ionic allegiance.

The first of these identities, that based on *polis* ties, is explicitly attested in the inscription referring to Ἀριστόδημος Διόννιος Μασσαλεύς (*MG* 30, *IGF* 68–3).¹²⁵ The ethnic, Μασσαλεύς, is not contrary to standard practice, though ethnics referring to the Greeks of Southern Gaul do not otherwise occur in the epichoric inscriptions, except, of course, on monetary issues. However, inscriptions set up abroad, not surprisingly, highlight origins in the region.¹²⁶ The form attested at the Aristaion, Μασσαλεύς, is not the form used for Massaliotes abroad (or on the local coinage), where forms in Μασσαλιώτης and Μασσαλιήτης are the norm. The latter can be described as the Ionic form, though both seem to have been employed by Massaliotes abroad.¹²⁷ The potential difference between these ethnics cannot be recovered, but it is possible to surmise that the -εύς formation may have been specifically used within the region or that it specifically referred to a category of Massaliotes, e.g. citizens, alongside other forms not yet attested. The suffixes used to mark ethnics in the Greek world are varied and no simple universal equation of form of suffix and meaning can be uncovered.¹²⁸

defensive wall which enclosed both Greeks and Iberians, though the original fifth-century wall remained, splitting the city in two, see Demetriou 2012 45–52. Dietler refers to Emporion as a ‘creolized polity’ (2010 108) when he is simply referring to the mixed nature of the settlement. I would argue that this terminology is unhelpful.

¹²⁵ If Διόννιος is a patronymic adjective, this would suggest an Aeolic form. However, it is likely that Διόννιος is simply the genitive of a name Δίοννις, rendering the formula unremarkable, see Hualde Pascual 1997 229–230.

¹²⁶ For Massaliotes abroad, see Manganaro 1992, Robert 1968.

¹²⁷ On the ethnic, see Hermay, Hesnard and Tréziny 1999 93.

¹²⁸ Though -εύς ethnics appear to have ‘une fonction qui est de donner un caractère institutionnel de l’appartenance ethnique’, see Perpillou 1973 334 (334–345).

The second form of identity, which Malkin terms 'colonial identity', is Phokaian.¹²⁹ We have seen that the Aristaion provides a number of distinctively Phokaian names, which indicate a continuing attachment to the *metropolis*, Phokaia. These distinctive names are not just found in the period immediately after the colonization of the area by the Phokaians, but continue to appear in the Roman period. We have already discussed networks and connectivity (§1.2), and the traditional view that Southern Gaul was isolated has generally been replaced (though not universally, see §5.4) by a vision of communications which span the entire Greek world. Malkin argues that the network approach allows us to move away from over-reductive centre versus periphery, self versus other and identities based on difference to appreciate the multiple identities created through complex networks and people looking in all directions along them.¹³⁰ The ongoing relations between Phokaia and Massalia are attested in the small Phokaian epigraphic *corpus* of twenty-nine inscriptions, in which three Imperial inscriptions refer to priests of Marseille (*Phokaia* 13, 14, 18), and a Phokaian decree at Priene (*Priene* 20) refers to ambassadors from Marseille. Indeed, 'la solidarité interhellénique et particulièrement interphocéenne allait se manifester en d'autres occasions, sous l'égide de Marseille', such as in 197 when Massalia interceded at Rome on behalf of the Phokaian colony Lampsacus and in 129 when it interceded on behalf of Phokaia itself.¹³¹

The picture of inter-Phokaian relations is complex, however, and has been frequently debated as a consequence of Strabo's comments concerning the foundation of Hyele in the sixth century (6.1.1):¹³²

φησι δ' Ἀντίοχος Φωκαίας ἀλούσης ὑφ' Ἀρπάγου τοῦ Κύρου στρατηγοῦ, τοὺς δυναμένους ἐμβάντας εἰς τὰ σκάφη πανοικίους πλεῦσαι πρῶτον εἰς Κύρνον καὶ Μασσαλίαν μετὰ Κρεοντιάδου, ἀποκρουσθέντας δὲ τὴν Ἑλέαν κτίσαι.

According to Antiochus, after the capture of Phokaia by Harpagus, the general of Cyrus, all the Phokaians who could do so embarked with their entire families on their light boats and, under the leadership of Creontiades, sailed first to Corsica and Massalia, but, pushed away from those places, founded Elea.

The exact meaning of this passage has been contentious, but it seems, on face value, that, after the capture of Phokaia, one group of Phokaians sailed to Corsica (presumably Alalia) and then to Massalia, and were pushed away from both, in the case of Corsica no doubt as a result of the Battle of Alalia, but no reason for the repulsion from Marseille is given. Clearly this version of

¹²⁹ Malkin 2003 72. ¹³⁰ Malkin 2011 62–63.

¹³¹ Morel 1995 23. See *ibid.* for examples and Morel 2006a 413.

¹³² See Morel 2006a 368–370 for these debates.

events would severely undermine the proposed cooperative inter-Phokaian relations. Herodotus mentions no such situation in his account (1.165–166) and various scholars have tried to find alternative meanings in the text. Morel’s solution is to follow the sixteenth-century emendation of Casaubon, who suggested that we read εἰς Κύρνον καὶ Ἀλαλίαν ‘towards Corsica, and more precisely Alalia’ for εἰς Κύρνον καὶ Μασσαλίαν.¹³³ This emendation works well if we consider that Alalia would probably have been much less well known to medieval scribes as a Phokaian colony than Massalia, but there is also a supporting series of ‘considérations logiques et philologiques, historiques et archéologiques’.¹³⁴ Following Casaubon, Strabo’s account would tally better with that of Herodotus, who does not mention Marseille, and would remove the awkward issue of Massaliotes rejecting their Phokaian relations. Morel believes this is a much more plausible scenario and offers evidence to suggest that Marseille probably received refugees from Phokaia and/or Alalia and sent colonists to Hyele.¹³⁵

Lomas argues that a series of similarities within the Phokaian colonies ‘seem to point to at least some element of shared Phokaian identity embedded within the different development trajectories and identities of the individual cities’.¹³⁶ The notion of a Phokaian identity expressed through the material record received its first detailed treatment by Langlotz in the 1960s.¹³⁷ Since then new evidence has added colour to the picture, but recent research has concluded that with more critical analysis of the material we are forced to admit that ‘il est encore difficile de fonder sur des bases solides la notion d’ “identité phocéenne”’.¹³⁸ Features traditionally linked to a specifically Phokaian identity include shared cults (Athena, Leucothea, and the ‘seated deity’ of the *naiskoi*), coinage, ceramics (e.g. *askoi*), architecture, urbanism and political, cultural and economic systems.¹³⁹ But we are not always sure that a specifically Phokaian identity was intentionally being transmitted (indeed some of the features, for example, the *askoi*, are not attested in the *metropolis* itself) and detailed investigation of the material has demonstrated the importance of the multidirectional nature of influence (for example from the colonies to Phokaia) and the significance of local contact cultures. Hyele, for example, has been described as ‘une colonie phocéenne, mais en Grande Grèce’, ‘une colonie de Grande Grèce, mais

¹³³ Morel 2006b 39–40. ¹³⁴ Morel 2006 [2009] 1738. Gras 1995b rejects this solution.

¹³⁵ Morel 2006 [2009] 1741–1743. The role of Massalia in the Battle of Alalia is unknown, see Morel 2006b 41–42 for a taste of the controversy.

¹³⁶ Lomas 2006 190. ¹³⁷ Langlotz 1966.

¹³⁸ Hermary 2002 248. ¹³⁹ See Morel 2006 [2009] for a summary of all these aspects.

phocéenne',¹⁴⁰ emphasizing the impact of the surrounding area, in which Cumae and Naples, amongst others, participated. Another complicating factor in the assessment lies in the fact that the evidence, particularly for architecture and art, from both Phokaia and the colonies is poor. Nevertheless, some striking features can be identified, for example, the *naiskoi*. These small temple-shaped stone objects containing representations of female goddesses, reflect 'une connotation fortement microasiatique' and have been found in Ionia (including at Phokaia), and in the West only in Gaul and Hyele.¹⁴¹ But since, as Hermary rightly points out, only one has been found so far at Phokaia, are we really dealing with a feature of Phokaian identity?¹⁴² Perhaps 'western Phokaian/Massaliote' or 'Ionic' identity more generally may have been intended.

The third element of identity, which Hall calls 'intrahellenic', can perhaps be uncovered by the Ionic features in the onomastics at the Aristaion. The argument has been proffered that the Greek spoken in Southern Gaul cannot be shown to have remained Ionic throughout the Hellenistic period. However, inscriptions with Ionic content do exist (see §5.4 for details) and links are supported by a myth concerning Massalia, which describes the Phokaians using Artemis of Ephesos as their accompanying goddess, rather than a local deity,¹⁴³ and establishing a cult to Panionic Apollo Delphinios (Strabo 4.1.4).¹⁴⁴ Herodotus also informs us that Phokaia is included in the Panionion (1.142), a political and religious focus for important *poleis*

¹⁴⁰ Morel 1992 20, also 2006b 61.

¹⁴¹ See Hermary 2000a, Morel 1995 27. De Michèle and Hermary 2010 present a *naiskos* from Cavaillon of the same type as the 'stèles de la rue Négrel' (Marseille). This is the first example from outside a Greek centre.

¹⁴² Hermary 2002 247.

¹⁴³ Malkin 1990 gives possible reasons for the choice of Artemis as the deity for the Phokaian colonists, namely that Artemis is the guide of Neleus, the mythical founder of the Ionians and that the cult more than others 'impliquait aussi l'idée d'une prise de possession d'un territoire' (50). He argues that the transfer of the *Ephesian* Artemis probably occurred after the abandonment of Phokaia to the Persians by the Phokaians in c. 545 rather than at the foundation of Marseille in c. 600 (*contra* Malkin 1987 70). The proposition is that Ephesos had survived ruin at the hands of the Lydians by trusting in Artemis (Hdt. 1.26) and that the Phokaians had seen this and followed the lead. See also Malkin 2011 182–189 for a detailed discussion of Artemis of Ephesos as an Ionian goddess with special links to migration and colonization. Malkin 2011 197–204 uses comments in Strabo (4.1.5) stating that rites of Artemis of Ephesos were taught by the Greeks to the Iberians to suggest that the Phokaians had a missionary zeal to spread her worship in the north-western Mediterranean. This seems a very text-centric approach to the evidence; as Demetriou remarks, the archaeological evidence for the worship of Artemis in the area around Emporion is 'ambiguous' (2012 61).

¹⁴⁴ Malkin thinks that given the likely mixed nature of traders and settlers pre-600, that the Phokaians 'imbued their constitutive acts with implications of collective identity that transcended any particular group of settlers' (2011 181).

in Ionia.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, the Aristaion gives us an intriguing reference to οἱ Ἐφέσου Ἀριστῖο (MG 114), a format of dedication otherwise unattested and which might constitute a reference to the city linked (at least fictively) in the colonization process.¹⁴⁶ Exactly why and in which specific contexts the Massaliotes might have chosen to emphasize their Panionic identity is not always recoverable, but it seems to have been one weapon in their arsenal of identities and clearly collective associations ‘which transcended the limited connection with their mother city’ would have been important for a Greek *polis* founded in a foreign land far from its *metropolis*.¹⁴⁷

Broader forms of association, such as Hellenic (or Panhellenic?) identities, cannot be traced directly in the evidence from Southern Gaul.¹⁴⁸ However, this cannot be taken as evidence of absence: we might imagine, perhaps in situations of conflict, a reliance on such identities, which would impress the connectivity of the colonies on indigenous factions. Indeed, the Massaliotes are the most western group for whom offerings are known at Delphi.¹⁴⁹ Though we know little about the dedications, dedicators or their purpose¹⁵⁰ (two statues, one of Athena and one of Apollo and one, or possibly two, treasuries),¹⁵¹ the Massaliotes must have been well established in Greek networks to have dedicated at this site. Indeed, Delphi may have acted as a meeting place for Phokaiaians, one important way that links between *metropolis* and colonies could have been maintained.¹⁵²

The network of Mediterranean interactions, which helped to create the ‘small Greek world’ that Malkin (2011) so evocatively paints for an earlier period, continued to foster and enhance the self-awareness of a series of multiple identities for the Greeks of the Aristaion. Their arsenal of identities included *polis*-based, colonial, regional, intrahellenic and Panhellenic identities. They could be all these identities at the same time and were able

¹⁴⁵ Morel 1995. The Panionion moves from the Mykale peninsula to Ephesos, possibly in the fifth century, see Hornblower 1982.

¹⁴⁶ Coupry and Giffault 1982 365 view Ἐφέσου as a personal name. Ἐφεσος occurs six times in LGPN Va. We must await the full publication to check the reading, context and interpretation.

¹⁴⁷ See Malkin 2011 57.

¹⁴⁸ Emporion too seems to have emphasized Phokaian and Ionic identities rather than Hellenic ones, see Demetriou 2012 50, 53–63. Evidence from outside Gaul might include the mixed foundation of Naucratis which involved Phokaiaians (Hdt. 2.178) and contained dedications at the Hellenion to ‘the gods of the Hellenes’, see Hall 2002 130.

¹⁴⁹ See Jacquemin 1999 72.

¹⁵⁰ See Gras 1987 for the argument that the Battle of Alalia was the motivation for the dedications.

¹⁵¹ See Jacquemin 1999 252–253, 341, 370, 372, Salviat 1981.

¹⁵² See Malkin 2011 202–204 for Delphi and Massalia. Herodotus (1.167) implies that the Phokaiaians consulted the oracle at Delphi before setting out for Alalia.

to front one or other of them – code-switching between them – depending on the context, the audience and the goals in view.

8.4 Glanum and the Aristaion: complexity revealed and future research

Southern Gaul is rarely integrated in general histories of the Greek world, and our cognitive map of the area usually excludes such 'marginal' areas.¹⁵³ Yet we must look beyond the conceptual margins and typical 'others' of Persia and Italy. Examination of the evidence from Southern Gaul demonstrates the complexity of reactions to multiculturalism, particularly through the rich evidence from Glanum and the Aristaion. Moreover, the Aristaion allows us to attempt to uncover multilayered constructions of identity and should be used to complete the picture of Greek identity.

As we have seen, linguistic evidence can be employed to create a new arena for testing current debates, such as the problematic issue of 'Hellenization'. The epigraphic evidence does not smooth out the intricacies of cultural contacts, in fact it serves to reflect and colour the complexity of the debate. In the case study of Glanum, the underexploited epigraphic record was mobilized to reconsider the ethnolinguistic history of the site. It was shown that the results fit with recent archaeological and historical research, which argues that the Hellenic features must be treated as diverse in origin and as the result, not just of contacts with the Massaliote Greeks, but with the Mediterranean *koine*.

Both the Aristaion and Glanum can be viewed as key *loci* for contact-induced change in the second and first centuries BC. At these sites, through their abundant epigraphy, we can see some indigenous responses to Mediterranean cultures. Though clearly very different in many respects, these sites demonstrate indigenous integration with Mediterranean cultures which may have facilitated the creation of the relatively peaceful *Gallia Narbonensis*, which was '*Italia uerius quam prouincia*' (§1.5.3). However, the choice of these two sites for an extended discussion should in no way imply that these are the only, or even necessarily the most important, foci for cultural contact in Mediterranean Gaul. Many other sites can be viewed in such a light, Arles, Avignon, Cavaillon, Ensérune, Lattes, Nîmes, to name a few.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ See Malkin 2003 60.

¹⁵⁴ See, for example, Arcelin 2003 for a discussion of the 'intégration des cultures indigènes dans la dynamique méditerranéenne' (140). He argues that the title '*poleis Massalias*' given to Avignon and Cavaillon (transmitted by Stephanus of Byzantium, based on information from

In the next chapter we delve further into the identities and ethnolinguistic vitality of the indigenous and other groups faced with the increasingly strong hold of Roman power.

the second-century geographer Artemidorus of Ephesus) was simply an economic and political tie which allowed autonomy on both sides and a way for Marseille to survive the pressure of growing Roman strength in the region.

9 | Being Greek, becoming Roman, staying Celtic?¹ Ethnolinguistic vitality from the Augustan period

9.1 Cultural contacts

Chapters 6 to 9 overlap chronologically to an extent and should be seen as part of a continuous discourse. The previous chapters largely focused on pre-Augustan epigraphy in Southern Gaul, investigating early contact with the Mediterranean basin and the diverse responses to multiculturalism, but also looked to the post-millennium period to map continuity and change. We now turn to a discussion of Greek, Gaulish and Latin in contact specifically in the post-Gallo-Greek phase, namely from around the Augustan period.

Socio-political circumstances are in constant flux, and although the division between a ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ period is an oversimplification, the Augustan period onwards does merit specific treatment,² not least because, in broad terms, the epigraphy changes dramatically in Southern Gaul. In this chapter we will address how the changing socio-cultural environment impacted on ethnolinguistic vitality (§2.3.1). The bilingual texts of Southern Gaul, which have generally been overlooked,³ will be discussed using the methodology developed in Chapter 3. This will be important in assessing the relative ethnolinguistic vitality of the speech communities. The regional variation of Latin in this area has been studied, but Adams 2007 has now supplanted the previous work which will therefore not be treated at length.

9.2 The changing linguistic landscape

Romanization and Hellenization are not distinct phenomena: being Roman involved, to a certain extent, being Greek (§1.2). In many parts of the Western Empire, we are in fact often faced with a ‘cultural triangulation’,⁴ a series of negotiations of identities which involved Roman, Greek and local. Wallace-Hadrill cites the colourful Favorinus of Arles (second century AD) as an example of this triangulation.⁵ He is a Roman from Gaul who is more

¹ This title has been inspired by Wallace-Hadrill 2008 and Woolf 1994a.

² See Woolf 1998, especially 97–98. ³ With the exception of Biville 1989, Decourt 2008.

⁴ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 5. ⁵ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 3–7.

Roman than the Romans and a better Greek than the Greeks. Favorinus (Dio of Prusa *Oration* 37.26–27) demonstrates that you can become Greek and Roman by *paideia*, not just (or only) by birth, and that ‘barbarians’ are not excluded.

The result of this cultural triangulation was a relatively complicated linguistic environment. In the Western Empire the sociolinguistic situation in general terms was one of H and L languages, where the H language was Latin, plus ‘elite’ Greek (i.e. the Greek of the well-educated upper echelons, including in the former Greek colonies) and the L languages were the indigenous languages (plus ‘non-elite’ Greek, i.e. the Greek of merchants, traders, slaves and the former Greek colonies). Diglossia is clearly not a useful categorization of this picture, with Greek functioning as both H and L and the presence of two H languages. Yet even this non-diglossic H and L schema was probably more complex on the ground. In the absence of an official language policy or systematic, widespread education, Latin was not forced upon the inhabitants of the societies in the West, but rather was chosen as having a high cultural, political, legal, social and economic value for its speakers. Many societies in the West entered into a period of unstable bilingualism when language shift towards the H language was taking place, resulting in the death of numerous indigenous languages within three or so generations. However, not all the communities absorbed into the Roman Empire learnt Latin instantly: those in isolated areas would have taken longer and there may have been localized resistance to Latinization in certain communities, different social groups, various professions or from individuals. Indeed, some local languages survived the Empire in the West and we can hear one or two descendants of those indigenous languages spoken today, such as Basque and Welsh.⁶

In the case of Southern Gaul, the path to Latinization seems to have been relatively gentle, at least that is the impression from the textual and epigraphic evidence of the time, which is, of course, liable to extreme bias. If the evidence has not misled, then we could interpret this as perhaps one result of early contact with Italian peoples. This seems a logical and relatively uncontroversial suggestion, if we follow the previous arguments concerning Italian involvement in pre-Augustan Southern Gaul. What needs to be questioned in more detail is the role of Greek in *Gallia Narbonensis*. To what extent can we talk about the maintenance of Greek? Or is the epigraphic Greek that we see largely the result of the influx of Roman culture and slaves

⁶ See Mullen 2011a for an overview of the spread and function of Latin in the East and West. See Neumann and Untermann 1980 for a compendium of languages of the Roman Empire.

and others from the Greek East? If we cannot talk about maintenance, and generally consider the Greek to be ‘Roman Greek’, what is the linguistic situation in the Greek colonies themselves?

9.2.1 The function of Greek

Only a meagre 136, largely lapidary, Greek inscriptions are contained in the Narbonnaise section of *IGF*, of which roughly half emanate from the Greek colonies. As we have seen, the majority of the inscriptions, even from the colonies, date to the post-Augustan period. An analysis of the non-bilingual Greek texts from Southern Gaul supports the hypothesis of the increasingly specialized use of Greek, the domains of education, medicine, acting, agonistic activities, art, magic, religion, including Christianity, showing preference for Greek.

The final domain represents a major specialist use of Greek: thousands of Christian inscriptions from non-Greek-speaking areas are composed in Greek, the language of liturgy, though there was a move towards its replacement by Latin in the West after the first two centuries AD.⁷ The inscriptions often appear in a distinctive form, namely with symbols or scenes associated with Christianity and the style of the lettering can often be poor, in keeping with the Christian ethos of modesty and rejection of earthly wealth. Examples from the region include: *IGF* 35, 36, 53, 62, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 134, 155, though problems often arise in correctly identifying the inscriptions.⁸

Magic also commonly incites the use of Greek throughout the Empire.⁹ Two Greek inscriptions from Southern Gaul are linked to the realm of magic. One, a second- or first-century BC *tabella defixionis* from Olbia (§8.3.5), is from just before the time period of interest here, and says little about distinctive choice of language in this particular domain as Greek was presumably still current at that settlement. The second is an *adiuratio contra grandinem* on bronze (*IGF* 90 (Mondragon, Vaucluse)), which follows a formulaic pattern also found in *IGF* 91 (Bouchet, Drôme). Both are dated to the Imperial period and the similarities suggest the use of a manual; these inscriptions are therefore of limited use for thinking about competence in Greek at these sites. As a reminder of the specificity of the relationship between language and magic we might cite a second-century AD bi-version bilingual text in Latin and Greek from Autun (Saône-et-Loire, *IGF* 159).

⁷ See Momigliano 1982. ⁸ See Heijmans 2000. ⁹ See Biville 1989 100–101.

This text contains a list of names to be cursed in Latin and two magical words in Greek, followed by a series of *hapax*.¹⁰ It may be surmised from this particular text that the author knew little about cursing in Greek, or perhaps any Greek at all, but, like the writers at Mondragon and Bouchet, knew that Greek was suitable for a curse of this type.

The domain of education is represented by a white marble dedication from Marseille dating to the end of the first or beginning of the second century AD and dedicated to a καθηγητής ‘teacher’ (IGF 17).¹¹ Found in 1877, it was likely to have been originally employed in a *loculus*.

Τίτος · Πομπήιος
 Ἀπολλωνίδης
 Τίτω Φλαουίω
 Νεικοστράτῳ
 τῷ καθηγητῇ
 μνήμης · χάριν

Again from Marseille, and dated to the end of the second, or beginning of the third century AD, a marble plaque refers to what appears to be a bilingual *grammaticus* Ἀθηνάδης (IGF 21).¹² The name and inscription are Greek, but his role is described as γραμματικός ῥωμαϊκός. Once again the early date of the discovery (1833) precludes a discussion of the context, though the plaque is also likely to have been employed in a *loculus*. Both this inscription and the preceding one contain nothing but the words of the straightforward text in neat, but not particularly elegant, lettering.

Ἀθηνάδης
 Διοσκουρίδου
 γραμματικός
 ῥωμαϊκός

Marseille had a reputation in the ancient world as an educational centre, as attested by the often-cited Strabonian (4.1.5) passage, where Massalia is said to attract elite Romans away from the more standard destination of Athens for study. Massalia was supposed to have provided a good moral schooling

¹⁰ The first magical word is in part repeated as the author seems to have attempted the Greek and then started again. See Marcillet-Jaubert 1979a, 1979b for further details of this *defixio*.

¹¹ This term is described in reference to Epicurean groups by De Witt 1936 206.

¹² For this inscription, see Agusta-Boularot 1994 689–690, 731–732. For inscriptions to teachers, see Agusta-Boularot 1994 and Rochette 2007 181. Clerc 1929 313–330 discusses education at Marseille, including both of the Massaliote texts. Note also the ῥήτορι who dedicate at Béziers (IGF 131).

for Agricola, a place where the refinement, and potential excesses, of Greek education were successfully tempered with provincial frugality (Agr. 4.2–3). Gaul more generally appears to have offered training in the liberal arts for the elite, who presumably already knew Latin and saw benefit in deepening their cultural knowledge. A school at Autun is mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.43.1) where sons of the elite are trained, mirroring the famous passage concerning Agricola's education of the *principum filii* in *Britannia* (Agr. 21.2), and Suetonius (*Gramm.* 3.6) remarks on the spread of *grammatici* throughout the provinces, *maxime in Gallia togata* 'especially into *Gallia togata*'. Gaul is also praised for its oratory and rhetoric, Favorinus of Arles being the best-known practitioner. We might add to this the comments in Juvenal which associate Gaul with rhetoric (*Satires* 7.148, 15.111) and the fact that nearly all of the characters in Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus* and the authors of the *Panegyrici Latini* (with the exception of Pliny the Younger)¹³ are from Gaul.

In contrast, the paucity of surviving literary texts by Massaliote writers is striking (the Massaliote text of Homer being a notable exception),¹⁴ and the surprise expressed by Pliny (*Ep.* 9.11) when he encounters bookshops in Lyon suggests that Gaul also had a reputation for being uneducated and barbarous.¹⁵ Furthermore, the sources for Strabo's comments on education at Marseille were likely to have been Poseidonius (first century) and a panegyrist of Augustus, who was possibly Volcacius Moschus, a teacher of rhetoric at Marseille.¹⁶ The sources are both relatively late, and, in the case of the latter, likely to have been particularly biased. Bats (1988a) examines the literate environment of Marseille and notes that we are unaware of any library and that very few writers are known. He proposes that the words of Strabo are in fact meant to highlight the recent transformation of the city from one where 'l'esprit d'entreprise s'exprimait plus volontiers auparavant dans les activités commerciales, maritimes ou guerrières'.¹⁷ In sum, we know little about the education system at Marseille or its impact on Southern Gaul and might wonder, considering the dates of a large proportion of the evidence, whether it flourished as an educational centre, as elsewhere in Gaul, only in contact with Romans.¹⁸

¹³ Adams 2007 191–192.

¹⁴ See Hodge 1998 134. Pytheas of Massalia is, however, quoted by Polybius and Strabo, see Hodge 1998 130–134.

¹⁵ On this, see Woolf 1998 72–73.

¹⁶ For Strabo's sources, see Dirkzwager 1975 3–13, Lasserre 1966 4–11. ¹⁷ Bats 1988a 136.

¹⁸ Marrou 1965, a key work on Latin and Greek schooling, contains very little on Marseille. See 429 for epigraphic evidence of teachers at Narbonne, Marseille, Arles, Vienne.

The medical profession in Graeco-Roman antiquity was expected to know Greek¹⁹ and it is therefore unsurprising that two of the Greek inscriptions from Southern Gaul (*IGF* 49) can be attributed to this domain. The first inscription, on a small stone *cippus*, was given to the Musée Granet (Aix-en-Provence) at the beginning of the twentieth century. Its provenance is unknown but it is likely to be from the region of Aix-en-Provence and probably dates to the first or second century AD.²⁰ The writing is described as ‘médiocre, peu régulière’²¹ and, as with the previous two inscriptions, neither this inscription, nor the next, are accompanied by imagery.

[.]
Φοῖβος
εἰατρός

Although the inscription is fragmentary, the nominatives suggest that Φοῖβος is a doctor rather than the deity.²² In fact this Greek name is also attested at Aix-en-Provence (*CIL* XII 577 = *ILN* III 78), Nîmes (*CIL* XII 3202, 3328, 3674), Narbonne (*CIL* XII 4319, 4335) and the Graian Alps (*CIL* XII 5718).

The second example from Southern Gaul of a Greek dedication involving doctors (*IGF* 133)²³ contains the Ionic form ἱητροί (§3.3). The support for this text, usually dated to 138–161 AD, was a piece of white marble found reused at Narbonne and subsequently lost. It is therefore only known via a drawing.

[Αὐτοκράτ]ορι Ἀντω[νείνῳ]
[Σε]βαστῶ ·
[Π]ομπείῳ Ε[— —]
[καὶ Πομ]πείῳ Φορ[τύνατος]
ἱητροί ☼

¹⁹ For the language of doctors’ inscriptions, see Adams 2003a 356–357, Fischer 1977, Gummerus 1932. Ausonius’s discussion of his father, a doctor at Bordeaux, includes the comment: *sermone inpromptus Latio, uerum Attica lingua suffecit culti uocibus eloquii* (*Epicedion* 1.9–10) ‘Latin did not flow easily, but the language of Athens provided me with sufficient words of polished eloquence.’ See Adams 2003a 356–357 and Hopkins 1961 241 for possible interpretations.

²⁰ Samama 2003 no. 522 should be added to the bibliography assembled in *IGF*.

²¹ *ILN* III page 116. ²² Robert 1969–90 1325.

²³ Samama 2003 no. 521 (who notes that the inscription may date to the end of the second, beginning of the third century AD), Adams 2003a 357 and Remy 1984 131–132 should be added to the bibliography in *IGF*.

On the basis of the *gentilicium* of both doctors, Πομπηϊός, Decourt proposes that they are likely to be from Narbonne or the vicinity.²⁴ An overview of the Latin material from Southern Gaul suggests that some Greek names may have been adopted because specialist occupations were associated with Greek,²⁵ and the names do not necessarily correlate with the origins or even linguistic competence of the individuals, for instance five out of seven doctors from Narbonne have Greek names.²⁶ Of the thirteen inscriptions concerning doctors from *Gallia Narbonensis* discussed by Rémy (1984), two are in Greek (12 (*IGF* 133) and 13 (*IGF* 49)). Of the remaining eleven Latin inscriptions, only two definitely do not contain Greek names (1 and 8), one is too fragmentary to tell (7), and the rest contain Greek names (2–6, 9–11). We also know from Pliny the Elder of two wealthy Massaliote doctors with Greek names: *Charmis* and *Crinas* (*N.H.* 29.5.9–10).²⁷

Greekness was also so associated with actors that Juvenal was able to quip that the Greeks were a nation of actors (3.100).²⁸ *IGF* 63, dated to the fourth century AD at the earliest and now in the Arles Museum but with no secure provenance, contains a reference to ὀρχηστ[ής], which at this late date referred especially to pantomime dancers. The lettering on this fragmentary piece of marble is of high quality (Figure 30).

Δ · Κονστ[αντ ---]
 ὀρχηστ[ής ---]
 βραβεῖον [---]

Slater remarks that Greek is ‘unusual for Arles at this time’ and compares the series of elegant Greek lapidary inscriptions referring to the Dionysiac actors from Nîmes, presumably implying that the domain of acting has provoked the language choice in both cases.²⁹ The first inscription in the Nîmois series (*IGF* 100) is Trajanic and has been subject to several different

²⁴ *IGF* page 178. See Gayraud 1981 422 for the attestations of Pompeius in *Gallia Narbonensis* and their origins. Five other inscriptions from Narbonne written in Latin are dedicated to *medici* (*CIL* XII 4485, 4486, 4487, 4488, 4489).

²⁵ See Biville 2002 89. ²⁶ See Gayraud 1981 548.

²⁷ To the north of our area, in Vienne, another Greek inscription (*IGF* 94), discovered in the seventeenth century and now lost, may also make reference to doctors: ἱατρῶν, though the reading is uncertain and the authenticity of the inscription has been doubted. A Greek inscription from Autun refers specifically to Apollo as ἱητῆ[ρι] (*IGF* 154). A further inscription, *IGF* 224 (Metz), dedicated to a Λ. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΩΙ ΙΑΤΡΩΙ, is included by Decourt in the ‘Inscriptions douteuses ou fausses’ section, though De Rossi 2005 suggests that the authenticity of the inscription should be reconsidered. However, it is known only from a copy of Boissard, a ‘savant’ known to have fabricated other inscriptions, and the language and abbreviations are unusual. It is not included in collections of medical inscriptions, e.g. Samama 2003. See Rémy 1984 144–148 for doctors at Metz.

²⁸ See Biville 1989 110 for Hellenisms in this domain in the Latin of Gaul. ²⁹ Slater 1995 291.



Figure 30 IGF 63, provenance unknown, Musée d'Arles antique.

restorations and interpretations.³⁰ The assumption that this inscription constitutes part of a formal decree was primarily based on the nature of the next inscription in the series (IGF 101), though Decourt prefers to view IGF 100 as a dedication to Trajan.³¹ IGF 102 and 104, found in the eighteenth century in the Jardins de la Fontaine (along with IGF 105 and 106), both mention a ὑποκριτής 'actor, rhapsodist'. IGF 105 is a decree in honour of Λ. Σάμιος, described in a Latin inscription as *archiereus synhodi* (CIL XII 3183). IGF 106 mentions specialist terms: κωμῳδός 'singer in the comic chorus', later, 'comic actor', later still 'comic poet' and χοραύλης 'one who accompanies the chorus on the flute'.³² The only attestation of a Greek inscription from Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, apart from the short Greek tag described below (IGF 126), may also be associated with the same domain since it evokes a chorus (IGF 125). It is of Imperial date and is known only through a plaster cast. This time the writing is not of high quality.

Δᾱμας Ἡρώδου [πρεσ-]
 βύτερος χορηγήσ[ας ...]
 ----- ΗΣ

Several Imperial Greek inscriptions evoke more physically oriented Greek agonistic activities,³³ for instance IGF 75 (Fréjus, see §3.3) dating to the mid third century AD and IGF 7 (Marseille, exact provenance unknown), a huge stone block which almost certainly refers to a stadium

³⁰ See IGF pages 132–134. ³¹ See IGF pages 133–134.

³² A flute-player named *Ruphus* has the designation 'natione Greco' in an epitaph from Cologne (CIL XIII 8343).

³³ See Leiwo 1994 45–48 for the agonistic inscriptions from Naples, which are always in Greek. For Greek agonistic inscriptions from *Gallia Narbonensis*, see Caldelli 1997.

]ΟΣΤΑΔΙΟ[,³⁴ a typical feature of larger Greek settlements, though this signage seems to be dated to the first or second century AD.³⁵ Again associated with the same domain, a γυμνασίαρχος is the subject of a small, undated Massaliote bronze plaque (*IGF* 15), known only through a transcription by the French savant Peiresc.³⁶

[Κ]λεῦδημος Διονυσίου
 γεραιτέρου(ς) νικήσας
 ἐφήβους εὐταξίαι
 καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσας δὶς

We might also note the Latin inscriptions from the area referring to *agone-thet(ae) agoni(s)* (*CIL* XII 410 (Marseille)) and *a[go]nothete* (*AE* 1969–70 376 (Le Teil, Ardèche)), terms from this domain borrowed from Greek into Latin, or perhaps, given the morphology, code-switches from Latin into Greek.

Finally, another series of inscriptions, linked to the realm of art, again demonstrates the close cultural association of the domain with Greek. We have already discussed one inscription in mosaic from Southern Gaul (*IGF* 124, §6.5.2), which was discovered at Nîmes on the site of the Jardins de la Fontaine in a long structure 9 metres from the ancient rampart, and which may be either Gaulish or Greek.³⁷ This is probably pre-Augustan, and has been dated to the late Republic. In the first century AD a mosaic was created at Saint-Côme (*IGF* 127), part of a large construction (200 × 250 metres) which belonged to a *villa* and contained the design of a maze above the inscription. Here the inscription includes the typical formula of *signaturae artificum* using the verb ποιέω:

³⁴ For the inscription, see Hermary, Hesnard and Tréziny 1999 121. De Rossi 2005 compares *IGF* 7 with *IGF* 32, perhaps suggesting that we reconstruct the same lexeme. However, several other reconstructions could be posited for *IGF* 32, e.g. ΣΤΑ|ΟΡΝ|ΓΝ, and the difference in size of the two objects might be evidence against the hypothesis.

³⁵ See the comments at Marrou 1965 181. For the site of the ancient stadium, see Clerc 1929 279–280, Hodge 1998 79, 249, Moliner, Gantès and Tréziny 2001 209. Moliner, Gantès and Tréziny *ibid.* also suggest that the inscription could be divided differently as ΟΣ ΤΑ ΔΙΟ and could therefore be cultic. Outside the region, in Lyon, an epitaph of a ten-year-old γυμνικός ‘gymnast’ has been uncovered (*IGF* 142).

³⁶ A γυμνασίαρχος is a superintendent of the school of ephebes. For ‘la culture générale de l’éphèbe’, see Marrou 1965 280–284. Clerc 1927 447–449 discusses the ephebia and the possible role of the gymnasiarch. For agonistic and ephebic inscriptions, see Guarducci 1967–78 II 357–410.

³⁷ Lavagne 2000 99. See Lejeune and Lambert 1996 (G-556) for a Gallo-Greek mosaic inscription from Cavaillon.

Πῦθις ὁ Ἀντι-
 όχου έπο[ί]ει³⁸
 χόϊρε

It is not clear whether we should see this use of Greek as an example of ‘Roman Greek’ rather than as evidence of a continuation of Greek from colonial times. We have a possible support for the colonial Greek hypothesis in that the same legend χόϊρε has been found in mosaic in an isolated rectangular building dated archaeologically to the late third century on the site of the Parc des Phocéens in Marseille (*IGF* 3).³⁹ However, the Massaliote inscription (*IGF* 3) itself may not be presenting a purely ‘colonial Greek’ style. The expression χόϊρε is actually rather rare on mosaics.⁴⁰ When the examples are assembled, it is clear that the attestations from Greece and the Orient are ‘extrêmement rares’;⁴¹ the majority hailing from the Western Mediterranean, where the practice was extended to the use of *salve*. Tréziny notes that the style of mosaic containing the Massaliote inscription also strongly evokes an ‘ambiance occidentale’;⁴² with links to Sicily, Italy and perhaps Punic origins, a reminder of the complexity of the influences and origins that compose Greek features. Greek may not always automatically mean ‘colonial Greek’, even in the colonies.

The Greek inscriptions of Southern Gaul are never numerous, either pre- or post-Augustus. In the Imperial period, the numbers of Greek inscriptions rise, however, and an analysis of their functions suggest that this may be, in many cases, not simply a continuation of colonial Greek but rather the introduction of ‘Roman Greek’, Greek used in the context of the new Roman Empire as a language of high culture, education and distinctive domains such as medicine and religion. The inscriptions in *Appendix 2* support the picture painted by *IGF*, with Greek found in the Imperial period particularly on quality products such as mirrors, glass vessels, rings, intaglios, cameos and vases. The Greeks were always viewed as masters in the artistic realm.

³⁸ The short form of the verb might be retained here, as there is no space on the mosaic for the hypothesized iota (cf. *IGF* 132). The dubious accuracy of the restoration of the mosaic is problematic. As regards the tense of the verb, the aorist was originally preferred in this context; the imperfect gained in popularity until it became the standard form in the Imperial period, see McLean 2002 208–210.

³⁹ See Tréziny 2006a 172–174. ⁴⁰ For χόϊρε in funerary epigraphy, see McLean 2002 269.

⁴¹ Tréziny 2006a 173. ⁴² Tréziny 2006a 173.

9.2.2 The decline of Gaulish

Bi-version bilingual texts or texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving Gaulish and Greek are very rare or non-existent in published material from Southern Gaul, depending on how the possible example, *IGF* 66 (§6.5.4), is viewed. When analysing the evidence for Gaulish–Latin bilingual texts,⁴³ it can be confidently asserted that no bi-version bilingual text from Southern Gaul has ever been published. The evidence for Latin texts displaying Gaulish bilingual phenomena is much more problematic as it would entail the detailed examination of thousands of Latin texts which are not currently adequately assembled (see below). The impression given by the Latin inscriptions, however, is one of uniformity and little code-switching (perhaps the easiest of the phenomena to identify) has been found.⁴⁴ Interference might be identifiable but would require a great deal of intricate examination. Evidence for code-switching and borrowing from Latin appears in two Gaulish texts, which is significant considering the early date and total number of these inscriptions. According to my interpretation of the inscription from Velleron (§7.1.1), this is probably a Gaulish text with a code-switch into Latin. The Vitrolles inscription includes reference to a ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡ (*RIG I G*-108) which is not a Gaulish word and may be a borrowing from Latin on the part of the ancient community at Vitrolles. Both of these, however, are likely to belong to the pre-Augustan period.

Despite the paucity of direct evidence of Gaulish in Southern Gaul from the Augustan period onwards, we can nevertheless attempt to study the interaction of Gaulish and Latin through regional variation, loan-words and onomastics. As we shall see below, regional varieties of Latin are largely irrecoverable but surely existed, as must have Gaulish varieties which were heavily influenced by Latin, but for which we have no clear direct evidence from Southern Gaul. Numerous Celtic words can be found in Latin and, later, in the Romance languages of Gaul, for instance concerning horses and equine transport.⁴⁵ Though many terms must have been borrowed from the local Celtic languages into regional forms of Latin, Adams states that Latin calques based on Gaulish do not exist.⁴⁶ The readiness of the Romans to calque Greek words, but not those of non-prestigious languages, may indicate that the process of calquing implies a particular, perhaps close,

⁴³ For examples of Gaulish–Latin bilingual texts outside Southern Gaul, see Adams 2003a 184–200, Meid 1983, Schmidt 1983.

⁴⁴ See §4.3 for a possible example. ⁴⁵ Adams 2007 250–259, 273, 276–369.

⁴⁶ Adams 2007 340. Adams 2007 338–340 convincingly rejects the often-cited claim that *ab oculis* ‘blind’ is a calque on Gaulish *exops*.

brand of cultural contact, but, as we saw in §3.3, much work is still needed to understand the phenomenon of calquing in the ancient world.

A detailed analysis of Gaulish names in the Latin inscriptions of Southern Gaul, following the lines of enquiry set out in Chapter 5, would be extremely useful to try to identify the *indigènes* and their role in the Latin discourse; however the diffuse publications of thousands of inscriptions and the associated archaeological literature currently preclude this. *CIL* and *ILGN* are out of date and the excellent *ILN* series is progressing relatively slowly, demonstrating in every volume large increases in inscriptions.⁴⁷ In very broad terms, the Latin epigraphy of Gaul during the first three centuries AD shows increases in the proportion of Celtic names in the towns and increases of Roman names in the countryside. Hatt presents the statistics and interprets them as showing population movement from rural to urban settlements: ‘l’exode rural’.⁴⁸ In contrast, Woolf regards the change as indicative of the extension of the epigraphic habit in the towns to those without Roman citizenship or names, and of the introduction of Roman names for the first time to the countryside.⁴⁹ It would be necessary to supply archaeological and historical analysis with detailed information of the settlements and their epigraphy, as we demonstrated in our discussion of Glanum, in order to assess these claims. The notion, championed by MacMullen, that increases of Celtic names in the epigraphy can be used to support the idea of a ‘Celtic renaissance’, sometimes described for this period, must be treated with extreme caution.⁵⁰ Indeed, if Woolf correctly surmises that in at least some cases the epigraphic habit was being extended, we are dealing with the increasing adoption of a Roman practice. Certainly, we must not extrapolate from the increase of Celtic-named individuals that the Celtic language itself was undergoing a period of revival, as MacMullen did in a well-known article of 1966. MacMullen argues that various provincial languages grew in vitality from the end of the second century AD, caused by a ‘positive counter-attack’ instigated by rural, lower-status, largely monolingual provincials at a period of ‘slack tide’ of the Empire when its ruling classes became more mixed.⁵¹ Apart from the fact that MacMullen’s evidence (scraps of *testimonia* and names) in no way demonstrates that this phenomenon even took place in Gaul, his sociolinguistic model can also be picked apart, as Clackson has successfully demonstrated, for not taking sufficient account of bilingualism in rural areas and for ignoring other possible reasons for the use of indigenous languages such as women’s choices.⁵²

⁴⁷ See Woolf 1998 85 note 20. ⁴⁸ Hatt 1951 23–42. ⁴⁹ Woolf 1998 103.

⁵⁰ MacMullen 1965. ⁵¹ MacMullen 1966 13, 16. ⁵² Clackson 2012.

The period in which the Celtic varieties of Gaul died out has been an important question for Celticists and is dependent on a range of difficult material, including anecdotal evidence. In certain isolated areas Gaulish must have continued to be spoken without leaving any written trace, but the general consensus seems to be that Gaulish ceased to be spoken by the fifth, or perhaps sixth, century AD, though it may well have met its end earlier in the South, and in certain zones and social layers very quickly.⁵³

9.2.3 The spread of Latin and the creation of regional varieties

Latin is usually regarded as having rapidly attained linguistic dominance in this region: οὐδὲ βαρβάρους ἔτι ὄντας, ἀλλὰ μετακειμένους τὸ πλεόν εἰς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τύπον καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς βίοις (Strabo 4.1.12) ‘They are not barbarians any more but are, for the most part, transformed into Romans, both in their speech and their way of life.’ However, this remark refers specifically to the area around the Rhône containing the *Cavares*, *Volcae* and *Salluvii*, and the tone perhaps implies a relatively unusual case.⁵⁴ Indeed, linguistic theory suggests that rapid shift to L2 might be an unlikely scenario for certain areas, particularly those that are geographically or otherwise peripheral, or with high ethnolinguistic vitality. Yet, whilst evidence from other areas of Gaul indicates that certain areas or groups of people were slow to relinquish ties with indigenous languages (e.g. the Chateaubateau tile and the La Graufesenque graffiti), there is little similar evidence from Southern Gaul.

The changes in epigraphy might be described as dramatic. Gaulish seems to be no longer committed to writing (though see §4.2.3) and Latin epigraphy rapidly dominates. This Latin epigraphy is much more widespread and densely attested than any other epigraphic expression in ancient Gaul and Woolf describes and explains the distribution of the inscriptions.⁵⁵ Geographical features play some part, but are not the whole picture. The road network, which does not always consider geography,⁵⁶ also provides an impetus for the diffusion of epigraphy, particularly for settlements at confluences. A third factor is the presence of *coloniae* and military settlements, in which epigraphy is concentrated. Generally, Latin epigraphy is better attested in large settlements, particularly those with intense and

⁵³ See Adams 2003a 690, Blom 2009a, *DAG* pages 68–76. ⁵⁴ See Herman 1983.

⁵⁵ Woolf 1998 77–105 provides a survey of the inscriptional record of Gaul, including several maps. See Cooley 2012 for an up-to-date manual of Latin epigraphy.

⁵⁶ See Horden and Purcell 2000 126–130.

long-term contacts with Roman structures.⁵⁷ Harris gives the figure of 6.1 inscriptions per 100 km² for *Gallia Narbonensis*, as opposed to 1.1 inscriptions per 100 km² for *Aquitania* and *Lugdunensis*;⁵⁸ however, the figures for epigraphic density in the provinces should always be treated with caution, as distribution can vary between adjacent settlements,⁵⁹ and even within settlements, and are, at least partly, determined by archaeological activity. Overall, though, in Gaul from around the twenties BC, Latin epigraphy replaces Gallo-Greek and in an intense fashion, evening out the discontinuities considerably: both highly Roman settlements, such as *coloniae*, and surviving indigenous sites produce Latin inscriptions of Roman genre.⁶⁰ Initially, Latin inscriptions in Gaul grow steadily in number, then undergo rapid growth between the middle of the second century and the early third century AD, before a decline which gains in pace in the second half of the third century. This pattern is not specific to Gaul, but is mirrored throughout the Empire,⁶¹ although, of course, we should be cautious not to overlook exceptions to these trends, such as the epigraphic output of Lyon, the frequency of which does not tail off significantly in the third century.⁶²

We saw in §2.3.1 that regional varieties of Latin must have been widespread. These were observed by ancient authors. The fifth-century AD grammarian Consentius warns that the modifications that may occur in the Latin of foreigners (*'gentilia uitia'*) should be avoided to preserve *suae linguae puritatem* (Latin, *GL* 5.395) 'the purity of their language', and describes the distinctive phonetic features of Latin spoken by Gauls: *Galli hac [letter i] pinguius utuntur, ut cum dicunt ite, non expresse ipsam proferentes, sed inter e et i pinguiorem sonum nescio quem ponentes* (5.394) 'Gauls employ the letter more richly, as for example when they say *ite*: they do not pronounce the letter precisely, but utter some richer sound between *e*

⁵⁷ The picture is, however, relatively complex: in a comparison of the epigraphic habit in *Gallia Belgica* and Central Italy, Wightman 1984 notes that the levels of inscriptions outside the urban centres are higher in the former than the latter.

⁵⁸ *Belgica* and *Germania Inferior* 1.9, *Germania Superior* 4.8 (Harris 1989 266–268).

⁵⁹ See Woolf 2002 184.

⁶⁰ We should note, however, that though Latin is adopted in an apparently systematic way and using standardized forms under the Principate, this masks variety; no two settlements produce the same epigraphic assemblage, see Häussler 2002 71–72.

⁶¹ MacMullen 1982 suggests that the rise and fall of the epigraphic habit was controlled by a 'sense of audience' (246). Meyer 1990 expands on this and argues that, although there will have been a range of factors in play, there was a close link between Roman status (particularly citizenship) and the provincial epigraphic habit.

⁶² Meyer 1990 91 states that there is 'no clear or obvious explanation for this', though she makes some suggestions. Both Meyer 1990 and Hope 2001 (esp. 12–13) stress the importance of regional variations.

and *i.*⁶³ Similarly, Cicero writes to Brutus:⁶⁴ *id tu, Brute, iam intelleges, cum in Gallia ueneris; audies tum quidem etiam uerba quaedam non trita Romae, sed haec mutari dediscique possunt* (*Brut.* 171) ‘You will soon understand this when you come to Gaul. Then indeed you will even hear certain words which are not often used at Rome, but these can be changed and corrected.’ In typically hyperbolic terms, Cicero also states that the witnesses from *Gallia Narbonensis* in the trial of M. Fonteius swanned around the forum at Rome *barbaro atque immuni terrore uerborum* (*Pro Fonteio* 15) ‘using terrifyingly barbaric and wild expressions.’⁶⁵

Adams has recently produced a wide-ranging discussion of regional varieties of Latin from 200 BC to AD 600, which collects more evidence than ever before, particularly extending the scope to include non-lapidary epigraphy. His rigorous approach to the evidence sets standards for the clear interpretation of the material. Regional variation existed, though he is sceptical about our ability to reconstruct it on the basis of the partial evidence. Beyond the *testimonia* mentioned above (also known as ‘metalinguistic’ or ‘explicit’ evidence), two genres of evidence exist: inscriptional and literary.

Inscriptional evidence is not sufficient to characterize the nature of regional varieties in any detail. The impact of standardization, the formulaic nature of texts, low numbers of tokens, difficulty of identifying more than lexical items, and uncertainty over origins and dating are major hindrances.⁶⁶ One important aspect of Adams’s recent work was to demonstrate the flaws of previous attempts to describe regional varieties.⁶⁷ This ground-clearing led the way for a presentation of how analysis should be undertaken. We are reminded of the discrepancy between speech and writing and the potential importance of cultural (e.g. level of education) rather than linguistic reasons in the interpretation of statistics on misspellings. Misspellings must be set against the incidences of the correct forms (taking into account the size and coherence of the *corpus*) and compared against other errors in the same *corpus* to be of real value.⁶⁸

Although the nature of Gaulish and Greek in Southern Gaul has been considered (Chapter 6, §5.4), a detailed consideration of the Latin of Southern Gaul will not be tackled for several reasons, not least the warnings from

⁶³ For this comment, see Adams 2007 244–250. I use Adams’s translation (2007 244). For Consentius, see Adams 2003a 433–435, 437–438, 2007 244–250, Fögen 1997–8. See also Biville 2002 96–97. Consentius is often thought to have come from Gaul, see Adams 2007 204, Kaster 1988 396–397.

⁶⁴ Adams 2007 133. ⁶⁵ Bats 1988a 129 thinks that it is to a variety of Latin that Cicero refers.

⁶⁶ See, for instance, Adams 2007 3, 10, 65, 186, 510, 632–633, 726–731.

⁶⁷ E.g. Coleman 1990 and Jackson 1953. ⁶⁸ Mullen 2008b.

Adams that regional varieties of Latin are largely irrecoverable and the impracticality of the material in its current state. In general, the non-standard features of the Latin of Southern Gaul can be paralleled in other areas of the Empire. With further analysis it may be possible to build up a more detailed picture of the potential variation between the provinces, for instance, Adams suggests that the merger of the front vowels may have occurred earlier in Gaul than elsewhere, but describing regional varieties in any detail will never be possible.⁶⁹ Within Gallic Latin itself regional and social variation would have existed, perhaps ‘from village to village and even within villages’,⁷⁰ and we are far from being able to paint this complexity.⁷¹

One example of a possible feature of regional specificity not discussed by Adams is the use of non-standard *-abus* in feminine dative plurals in inscriptions. This form is restricted to plural feminine deity names and has a rather interesting geographical distribution: though it is attested in small numbers all over the Empire, it is particularly prevalent in *Germania inferior* (c. 190 attestations for twenty-six different deities) and *Gallia Narbonensis* provides a healthy twenty-five attestations.⁷² The development of this form could be put down to two possible factors.

First, Latin contains the forms *duabus*, *deabus*, and by analogy *libertabus*, *filiabus* due to the need to distinguish between masculine and feminine in common phrases such as *libertis libertabusque* (*libertis libertisque*).⁷³ An extension of this method to female deity names may have been undertaken perhaps to emphasize the ‘femininity’ of the goddesses and the distribution may simply be due to the high number of such deities in the above areas. This is the preferred solution of Gascou, who lists the attestations from the Aixois region and concludes ‘L’analogie de *deabus* et peut-être aussi de *Matribus* doit avoir joué, comme le suggère la dédicace *Matribus/Gerudatiabus* de *CIL* XII, 505.’⁷⁴

Another possible factor, which might fit with the distribution of the form in provinces with Celtic- and/or Germanic-speaking communities and the restriction of the forms to native deities, may be contact-induced change. For instance, in Southern Gaul, the Gaulish *a*-stem dative plural feminine ending is securely attested as *-ABO*, e.g. Gallo-Greek *POKAOICIABO* (*RIG I* G-65), *ANΔOOYNNABO* (G-183), *NAMAYΣIKABO* (G-203). The clustering of

⁶⁹ Adams 2007 624–683. For an early discussion of the language of the inscriptions of Gaul, see Pirson 1901.

⁷⁰ Adams 2007 32. ⁷¹ See Adams 2007 259, 274, 365–368, 688–689, 723–726.

⁷² I am grateful to Torsten Meissner (p.c.) for providing these figures.

⁷³ For other examples of this extension by analogy in Latin, see Leumann and Hofmann 1928 281.

⁷⁴ Gascou 1989 18.

the *-abus* forms in the Latin inscriptions of Southern Gaul in deity names of non-Latin origin, and including *matrabus* for *matribus* which are likely to be the Celtic mother goddesses,⁷⁵ implies that the phenomenon may, at least in part, be contact-induced. We find, for instance, at Glanum the form ΓΑΛΑΝΕΙΚΑΒΟ (G-64) in Gallo-Greek and the equivalent Latin form *Glanicabus* (Rolland 1958a 88) in Latin (§8.2).

A conclusion cannot be reached as to whether the *-abus* ending is contact-induced or simply based on the extension of the Latin form;⁷⁶ it may be possible that both factors are involved, but perhaps to different extents depending on the region. The picture is complicated by the fact that many of the deity names are of Germanic origin, including some instances in Southern Gaul (e.g. possibly *Almahabus* (CIL XII 330, ILN III 167), *Gerudatiabus* (CIL XII 505, ILN III 160)),⁷⁷ though in some cases the associated personal names contain elements of Celtic linguistic origin. No publications have attempted a detailed discussion of all the forms alongside the attestations of the standard forms in *-is*, the names of the dedicators and content of the inscriptions, which is surprising considering the potential importance of such a study for the understanding of cultural and linguistic contacts in the regions. It is hoped that this gap will be filled.⁷⁸ Whatever the motivating factors behind the extension of the use of *-abus*, there does seem to be a case for suggesting that this ending was a feature of certain varieties or social levels of the regional Latin in these areas.

‘Implicit’ evidence for regional specificity in the literary evidence, in the form of regionalisms embedded in texts without comment, can be identified through supporting *testimonia* of other authors and the distribution of the relevant features in extant Latin and/or the Romance languages. Adams emphasizes the limitations of uncovering regionalisms, the subsequent spread and shrinkage of lexical items posing particular difficulties.⁷⁹ Strong dialectal terms must be afforded more importance than weak, and innovations are of special significance.⁸⁰

Of interest for this study is the interpretation of the Greek elements in the Western Romance languages thought to have entered the local languages during antiquity. The instances were considered in a dense article, Wartburg (1952), entitled ‘Die griechische Kolonisation in Südgalien und

⁷⁵ Though, of course, the Gaulish equivalent of *matribus* is MATPEBO (RIG I G-64).

⁷⁶ ‘Ob dabei *-abus* ein Reflex von gall. *-αβο* ist, bleibe dahingestellt’ (Faust 1965 146).

⁷⁷ I am grateful to Torsten Meissner for providing information concerning the linguistic affiliation of the relevant deity names from Southern Gaul.

⁷⁸ Torsten Meissner has been researching the topic. ⁷⁹ See Adams 2007 31–32.

⁸⁰ See Adams 2007 12–13, 259, 273, 277, 279–280, 360–361.

ihre sprachlichen Zeugen im Westromanischen'.⁸¹ Benoît severely attacked what he termed the 'mythe linguistique du faux-grec', though Wartburg's treatment of the data and implications is more complex than Benoît allowed.⁸² Three issues arise from the data. First, many of the Greek terms may have entered the Western Romance languages via Latin rather than via Greek. In some cases this is demonstrable or refutable (e.g. French *rouanne* derives from Greek ῥυκάνη rather than Latin *runcina* 'plane'),⁸³ but in many cases the exact origins are lost. As Adams points out, Greek words borrowed into Latin were generally much more 'mobile' than those borrowed from vernacular languages.⁸⁴ Work by Biville on the Hellenisms of Gaul demonstrates clearly that these are spread throughout the area and that 'La plupart des mots grecs que nous rencontrons en Gaule sont manifestement à mettre en relation avec la colonisation romaine.'⁸⁵

Second, a good deal of vocabulary which entered the linguistic composition of Southern Gaul via Greek may not have been transmitted through the agency of the Phokaian colonists. As we have seen throughout this study, the maritime *koine*, whose *lingua franca* may have been Greek (§4.2.1), at least in some zones,⁸⁶ until the ascendancy of Latin, may have been the route of transmission of a proportion of these lexemes. In the case of the form *canastrum* (La Graufesenque),⁸⁷ not discussed by Wartburg, which is almost certainly from Greek (the Latin form is *canistrum*), there is no reason to assume that this 'must have been borrowed from Gallic Greek',⁸⁸ namely the 'local Greek'⁸⁹ of the colonies. This assumption, particularly considering the attestation of the word in a potters' community involved with commerce and trade and a considerable distance inland from the nearest Phokaian colony, might be questioned in favour of borrowing from the 'universal Greek' of trade, commerce and culture.⁹⁰ A rigorous linguistic analysis might occasionally be able to identify the specifically Ionic

⁸¹ The Greek element of Provençal was afforded much attention, particularly by early savants keen to promote the Greek aspect of the identity of Southern France, see Wartburg 1952 4–5 and §1.5.4.

⁸² Benoît 1965 20–24. ⁸³ See Biville 1989 102, Wartburg 1952 5–6.

⁸⁴ Adams 2007 35. ⁸⁵ Biville 1989 102.

⁸⁶ Iberian may well have acted as a *lingua franca* for parts of the far Western Mediterranean, see Untermann 1992.

⁸⁷ Marichal 1988 85, 273. ⁸⁸ Adams 2007 282. ⁸⁹ Adams 2007 283, see also 706, 716.

⁹⁰ See Mullen forthcoming. Adams also discusses the wind name *circius* (2007 225–229), which has sometimes been assigned a Greek origin, but a Celtic origin is perhaps more likely. Again, the comment that 'if the word were of Greek origin it would have passed from the Greek of the Massiliote colonies of the coast of Gallia Narbonensis into the local Latin' is overly reliant on the agency of the Phokaian colonies. The word for a wind can clearly be associated with the trading context and could have entered Latin via numerous non-Phokaian routes.

origins of certain lexemes should diagnostic features be available (e.g. possibly τᾰφος ‘astonishment, amazement’ found in Marseillais as *tafo* ‘fear’ and tentatively proposed as an ‘Ionismus’ by Wartburg),⁹¹ which might therefore be attached to the Phokaian colonies of the pre-Koine period, but even then Phokaian origins would not be assured. Lastly, some borrowings are likely to be the product of the post-Roman period. Whilst there is no doubt that Greek forms part of the linguistic composition of the languages of Western Romance, the route of transmission, as we have demonstrated with other material (§7.2), must have been complex.

9.3 Expressing identity through bilingual texts

As we have seen, there are virtually no bilingual texts from the pre-Augustan period (§§6.5.3–6.5.4, 7.1.1) and Decourt has been a relatively lone voice in the analysis of the Imperial bilingual inscriptions from Gaul. His general conclusion that ‘il n’y a pas un bilinguisme, mais des formes très variées de bilinguisme’ and that ‘les significations de ce bilinguisme peuvent être multiples’⁹² cannot be refuted. However, some of his interpretations of bilingual phenomena and individual inscriptions will be challenged here.

Although much can be gleaned from a detailed analysis of the bilingual inscriptions following the lines of enquiry described in Chapter 3, one disappointing aspect is the poor scope for a thoroughly interdisciplinary approach. This is largely a result of the extremely early dates of discovery of a large percentage of the bilingual texts; very few are assigned more than a simple affiliation to a settlement. Decourt’s optimistic assertion that the find-spots of the inscriptions are mostly known ‘avec un degré de précision satisfaisant’ reflects the lack of concern for precise context prevalent amongst many epigraphers.⁹³ The scope for the interdisciplinary approach therefore remains at a settlement level (i.e. analysis of the archaeological interpretation of whole settlements and entire epigraphic records, as exemplified with Glanum, §8.2), and since the aim here is to survey and analyse all the examples of bilingual texts, this detailed investigation awaits future publications.

9.3.1 Bi-version bilingual texts

More bi-version bilingual Latin–Greek inscriptions exist than any other combination of languages. For example, no instance of a Greek–Gaulish

⁹¹ Wartburg 1952 32. ⁹² Decourt 2008 318. ⁹³ Decourt 2008 306.

bi-version bilingual text exists in Southern Gaul. The only possible example from Gaul (Genouilly, Cher (Central-eastern Gaul) *IGF* 178, *RIG I* G-225), dating to the first century AD, is probably in fact a Gaulish text showing switches in script from Gallo-Latin to Gallo-Greek to Gallo-Latin and an instance of code-switching into Greek (line 3), or perhaps tag-switching given the formulaic nature of the word ἐπόει.

[– T]QS · VIRILIOS
 [–]TOC · OYIPIAΛIO[C]
 ΑΝΕΟΥΝΟΣ ἐπόει
 ELVONTIV
 IEVRV · ANEVNO
 OCLICNO · LVGVRIX
 ANEVNICNO

This text, on a large, roughly hewn stone stele, has resisted simple analysis and is certainly atypical; Lejeune surmises that it is the product of an indigenous ‘hellénomane’.⁹⁴

Complementary (i.e. not equivalent in content), idiomatic bilingual texts are the most common type of Latin–Greek bilingual text in Southern Gaul. In theory, this suggests a difference in the functions of Latin and Greek, and a good standard of linguistic ability in both, at least for the creators of the inscriptions. In some cases the choice of producing a Greek version alongside Latin in bi-version bilingual texts has an obvious motivation. As we saw in §9.2.1, Greek is stylistic, finding a niche as the language of specific domains (e.g. poetry and medicine), and the complementary, idiomatic bilingual texts support this conclusion. For instance, a bilingual text found in the nineteenth century at Fréjus (*IGF* 73), now destroyed, and dated to the Julio-Claudian era on the basis of the Latin phraseology, opens with a simple Latin epitaph followed by a Greek epigram.

C(aio) · Vibio · Liguri
Maxsuma
mater · fecit
 τὸν τάφον ἡργάζοντο γεραιο-
 τέροις ὁ δὲ δαίμων
 νήπιον ἀντεβόλησ' ἐπταετὲς
 κλίματι· συγγενέες γενέται τε
 ὁμοῦ δὲν ἔθρεψαν ἔθαψαν
 Γάιον ὦ μερόπων ἑλπίδες
 οὐ μόνιμοι

⁹⁴ *RIG I* page 335. See also Decourt 2008 308.

Clearly, Greek has been pressed into service as the language better suited to epigram. The Latin has been reserved, in the primary slot (though we are reliant on transcriptions for this information) for the essential, business-like detail. This text is interesting in that none of the personal names is Greek. The dead son in the Latin text has a thoroughly Latin *tria nomina* and the mother a common Latin name. The son is also referred to in the Greek text, this time with the *praenomen* only. Since both parents are the subject of the Greek epigram we might speculate that the father may have been Greek and responsible for this text, whereas the mother was involved with the Latin version. We could be dealing with an instance of a mixed marriage, though the evidence is too poor to be certain, and, of course, Greek may have been employed by a Roman family who simply wanted to emphasize their complicity with the Graeco-Roman culture rather than allude to any more profound Greek identity or ethnicity.

Another text of similar format, dating to the first or second century AD, was found close to the ancient settlement of Nemausus in 1710 (*IGF* 119). Unlike the previous example, this inscription was not destroyed and now forms part of the interior wall of a private courtyard in Nîmes. Beginning with a factual epitaph in Latin, it is followed by a Greek epigram, demonstrating knowledge of bucolic poetry.⁹⁵ Once more the division of Greek and Latin into domains in the Graeco-Roman world is reinforced.

D(iis) · M(anibus)
C(aii) · Vibi · Liciniani
ann(os) XVI · m(enses) · VI
C(aius) · Vibius
Agathopus · et
Licina · Nomas
fil(io) · optimo · piissim(o)
 ἄνθεα πολλὰ γένοιτο νεοδμήτωρ ἐπὶ τύμ-
 βῳ · μὴ βάτος αὐχμηρή, μὴ κακὸν αἰγίπυρον,
 ἀλλ' ἴα καὶ σάμπουχα καὶ ὕδατινὴ νάρκισσος,
 Οὐεῖβιε, καὶ περὶ σοῦ πάντα γένοιτο ῥόδα

The subject is again the death of a son, whose name is in the *tria nomina* format and wholly Latin. In this case the father and mother are both mentioned in the Latin text and, though the *praenomen* and *nomina* are Latin, their *cognomina* are Greek. This beautiful and carefully composed inscription is surely the product of a wealthy Graeco-Roman family and

⁹⁵ For details, see *IGF* page 160.

a presentation of bicultural identity. We could even extend the analysis to suggest that this biculturalism might be under threat: the name of the son is wholly Latin and the Greek lettering is considerably smaller than the Latin; though the Greek text is longer, it only takes up approximately one-quarter of the inscribed area and follows the Latin. The striking difference in the size of the lettering may be an instance of deliberate visual code-switching.

These inscriptions could be accompanied by *IGF* 92, a second-century AD inscription from outside the area studied here (Die, Drôme), which was found in two parts in different centuries, unfortunately reused in both contexts.

[D(iis) M(anibus)]

G(aii) Iuli(i) Icar[ri] (?)

G(aius) Iulius Isido[ru]s pater

[d]onaui modico genitor te [p]arue sepulcro

haec nos aeternum con[iuget] una domus

[μ]νήματι τηλύγετον γενέτη[ς δω]ρήσατο παῖδα ☼

λαίνεον τεύξας ἀμφο[τέροι]σι δόμον ☼

Though the Latin is somewhat less formulaic than the above examples, not least as it employs versification, this is nevertheless the section providing the facts. The language in the two lines of Greek verse is particularly poetic. The first person of the Latin version perhaps suggests that this was a personal composition, whereas the Greek uses the third person, and this discrepancy between the two versions possibly indicates that the Greek has been picked from a manual or added by the stone-cutter. Both names contain Latin *praenomina* and *nomina* and Greek *cognomina*. It is unclear why Decourt states that the names themselves indicate an eastern origin,⁹⁶ and we should avoid assigning these Greek-named characters to Greek-speaking Easterners without further information. This lapidary inscription has been incised elegantly onto stone by a trained craftsman, complete with border and *hederae*. The Greek and Latin letters, this time, are of equal proportions, though, once again, the Greek follows the Latin.

IGF 87 is dated to the end of the second, beginning of the third century AD and was found in 1810 in an area of Vasio (Vaison-la-Romaine) which was urbanized early. The Greek version differs from the Latin in semantic terms in that the mention of oracles is absent from the latter.

⁹⁶ *IGF* page 120.

Belus
Fortunae rector
mentisque magis-
ter
ara gaudebit
quam dedit
et uoluit
 εἰθυστῆρι Τύχης
 Βήλω
 Σέξστος θέτο βω-
 μὸν
 τῶν ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ
 μνησάμενος
 λογίων

The deity referred to in both versions is Belos of Apamea, a Syrian god who was assimilated to the Greek god Zeus, as recounted by Dio Cassius 79.8.⁹⁷ Decourt is right to be cautious in accepting the romantic story created around Σέξστος through reference to Dio Cassius and *IG* XIV 911.⁹⁸ We know no more about the character than his name. Decourt suggests Σέξστος is likely to have had Syrian origins, making Greek, one of the H languages of the East (the other, Latin, can be assigned a ‘super-High’ categorization),⁹⁹ an obvious choice.¹⁰⁰ It is strange that only a single name is given and that this appears in the Greek version, and not the Latin, where we generally expect the factual details. It might be significant that this spelling reflects the frequent Latin *Sexstus* for *Sextus*.¹⁰¹ This reminds us of the dangers of overgeneralization and of the importance of treating each bilingual text individually. This inscription is displayed on an altar with the Greek on one side, in neat but inelegant lettering, and the Latin on the other. It is a matter of regret that this altar cannot be studied with knowledge of the context in which it was displayed; it would have been of interest to attempt to situate viewers and to think about who (human and/or divine) was expected to read the messages.

Non-complementary (i.e. equivalent in content), idiomatic texts are relatively uncommon. One possible example from Avignon (*IGF* 89) is dated

⁹⁷ For bibliography on this cult, see *IGF* pages 111–112.

⁹⁸ See *IGF* page 112. ⁹⁹ Adams 2003a 754.

¹⁰⁰ Decourt 2008 315. *IGF* 141 is another bi-version bilingual text, dedicated by a Syrian at Lyon, see Adams 2003a 688.

¹⁰¹ For *xs*, see Adams 1995 90–91 and Gignac 1976 141. See also *IGF* 73 (above).

on epigraphic grounds to the first century AD. Found re-employed in a Roman wall, in the nineteenth century, the inscription on this large stone block reads:

Ουαλος · Γα[β]ίνιος
 χαῖρε
Vaalus Gabin[ius]
heic situs est

All bilingual texts show a ‘negotiation’ on the part of the author and in this case it is not obvious what has motivated the bilingualism. The name Ουαλος/*Vaalus* is neither Latin nor Greek, but could possibly be a Celtic name: cf. ΟΥΑΛ (*RIG I G-178*), ΟΥΑΛΙΚΚΟ (*G-152*) though this is not considered by Decourt. In an article written after the publication of *IGF*, Decourt proposes that this inscription should be added to the ranks of inscriptions in *IGF* which include characters of eastern origin, though without giving any attestations of the name.¹⁰² In his discussion of personal names from Asia Minor, Zgusta lists the following possible *comparanda*: Ουαλας (1134–1), Οαλος (1134–2 (‘unsicher’)), Ουαλις (1134–3, 1134–4).¹⁰³ The origin of the second name, *Gabinus*, is probably Latin: Kajanto lists it as a Latin *cognomen*,¹⁰⁴ Pape and Benseler list Γαβίνιος as ‘eine plebeiische Gens in Rom’,¹⁰⁵ and the name is not regarded as Greek by Solin.¹⁰⁶ The notion of a character with connections to Asia Minor producing a bilingual Greek–Latin text in Southern Gaul is easier to explain than if Ουαλος were Gaulish. First, the transliteration of the name into Latin has motivated the use of a geminate *a*, *Vaalus*, to mark a long *a*. If the name were Gaulish, the expected vocalism would be short *a*. Second, we know that there is only one possible example of a Greek–Gaulish bilingual text in Gaul, and it seems unlikely that someone retaining a Gaulish name would produce or be commemorated in Latin *and* Greek; a Latin text without the accompanying Greek would be more probable.

The only other possible example from Southern Gaul of a non-complementary, idiomatic bi-version text is dependent on the accuracy of the restoration of the fifth line in the Latin version (*CIL* XII 174, *IGF* 85) [*seruus Pani u(otum) s(oluit)*], which is thought to correspond to the end of the following Greek version: δοῦλος εὐχ(ήν) ἀπέ(δωκε) Πανί.

¹⁰² Decourt 2008 316. ¹⁰³ Zgusta 1964 388–389.

¹⁰⁴ Kajanto 1965 182. This character is listed by Badian in his table headed ‘*singillatim ciuitate donati*’ (1958 307).

¹⁰⁵ Pape and Benseler 1911 234. ¹⁰⁶ Solin 2003.

Pro · salute
M(arci) · Iulii Liguris
proc(uratoris) · Aug(usti) ·
Agathocles
[seruus Pani u(otum) s(oluit)]
 ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρ(ί)ας
 Μ(άρκου) Ἰουλίου Λίγυρος
 ἐπιτρόπῳ Καίσ(αρος)
 Ἀγαθοκλῆς
 δοῦλος
 εὐχ(ήν) ἀπέ(δωκε) Πανί

This inscription, dating to the late first or early second century AD, was discovered on the Île Sainte-Marguerite in 1818 and lost soon after, which hampers the interpretation of ἐπιτρόπῳ, found in most editions where we would expect a genitive. The possibility of a Doric genitive has been proposed by Pflaum and Chastagnol,¹⁰⁷ though Pflaum notes that opposite an Ionic Greek colony this would be unexpected and evokes the possibility that we may be dealing with a ‘pierre errante’.¹⁰⁸ An alternative might be a stone-cutter’s error, but this seems unlikely considering the correct genitives that precede, and without the stone it is impossible to check whether a ligature was wrongly copied in the transcriptions. Two reasons may underlie the choice of Greek for this inscription. First, the dedication is made to the Greek god Pan, second, the dedication was made by a Greek-named slave, Ἀγαθοκλῆς. The character *M(arcus) Iulius Ligus/r*, on whose behalf the dedication is made, has his name in the *tria nomina* containing only Latin elements. The *cognomen*, which is etymologically related to the *Ligures* tribe, can also be found in the bilingual text IGF 73 (p. 283). We are very unlikely, however, to be dealing with members of the same community; it is more likely that this is a coincidence based on the fact that this name may in part reflect a geographical designation. Of the thirty-four attestations in *CIL*, sixteen are from *Gallia Cisalpina* and *Gallia Narbonensis*, which conforms to the usage of the term *Ligurian*, which should be seen as externally determined (§ 1.5.2).¹⁰⁹

The bi-version bilingual texts treated in this chapter have been arranged according to the typology discussed in §3.2 and treated individually. Decourt arranges the evidence for these bi-version bilingual texts differently, splitting them into two groups: the first, under the subheading ‘Deuxième niveau:

¹⁰⁷ Pflaum 1978 177–178. ¹⁰⁸ Pflaum 1978 178.

¹⁰⁹ Variants of this name include *Ligurin*, *Ligurinna*, *Ligustinus*, *Ligustinna*, see Kajanto 1965 196 for details.

l'affirmation d'une culture'¹¹⁰ includes *IGF* 119, 73, the second, under the subheading 'Troisième niveau: l'affirmation du biculturalisme'¹¹¹ includes *IGF* 85, 87, 89, 92. This division, based on Decourt's restrictive definition of bilingual texts as two texts of the same or similar content (the latter group), seems arbitrary; all these inscriptions play with the notion of biculturalism and in no case is the Greek of a 'valeur purement ornementale'.¹¹²

The bi-version bilingual evidence from Southern Gaul is distributed as follows: Fréjus (Julio-Claudian), Avignon (first century AD), Nîmes, Île Sainte-Marguerite (first or second century AD) and Vaison-la-Romaine (second or third century AD). Whilst the small numbers and diffuse nature of the evidence preclude an in-depth overview, we can note some important unifying features. None of these texts derives from settlements which had started out as Greek colonies, and all, with the exception of Île Sainte-Marguerite, are from key Roman centres. Similarly, no explicit reference is made to Greekness of origins, and all are likely to have been created in Graeco-Roman contexts. This is probably 'Roman Greek' not 'colonial Greek'.

9.3.2 Texts displaying bilingual phenomena

In the inscriptional material contained in *IGF*, evidence is relatively sparse for texts displaying bilingual phenomena, apart from those showing tag-switching and borrowing or imitation. The lack of interference perhaps reflects the strongly 'standardized' nature of both Latin and Greek, and indicates that in workshops scribes, *ordinatores* and stone-cutters were well trained and may have had access to manuals (§2.1), though it is also possible that some of the instances of imitation or borrowing may represent interference (§3.1).

As an example of interference, we might cite a Massaliote inscription (probably Imperial) found in 1763, known only through transcriptions (*IGF* 12).

Χαρμόλαφ Θρά-
σωνος ὃς καὶ Μέ-
νων, Χάρης ὁ ἀπ-
ελεύθερος

A Greek-named freedman is dedicating to another Greek-named individual referred to using the standard Greek naming formula of personal name plus patronymic genitive. Appended to this is the reference to the individual's

¹¹⁰ Decourt 2008 313.

¹¹¹ Decourt 2008 315.

¹¹² Decourt 2008 316.

agnomen, Μένων (§5.2.1), preceded by the phrase ὅς καί. There seems to be no sign in the transcriptions that the -s in ὅς is doubtful, though the form used is S rather than the lunate sigma used for every other sigma. It is probable that interference from the Latin formula *qui et*, originally a translation of the Greek formula ὁ καί,¹¹³ has motivated the use of the relative pronoun rather than the definite article (§3.1.3).¹¹⁴ This form of interference, itself based on earlier cross-cultural fertilization, we might argue, demonstrates close contact between the languages. It might also imply that the L1 of the author (who might not be either of the two named) of this inscription could be Latin.

A better attested bilingual phenomenon is that of writing Latin in Greek. The best example of this is perhaps the stone monument discovered in Marseille in the sixteenth century dedicated to *T. Porcius Cornelianus* (IGF 8) and now lost. Dated to the beginning of the third century AD, it is in some sense ‘in Greek’, but has been closely based on a Latin model.¹¹⁵

Τ(ίτω) Πορκίῳ, Πορκίου Αἰ-
 λιανοῦ ἐξοχωτάτου ἀνδρὸς
 καὶ προφήτου νίῳ Κυρεῖνα
 Κορηλιανῶ ἱερεῖ Λευκοθέας
 χειλιάρχῳ λεγ(εῶνος) ἰε' Ἀπολλι[ν]αρ(ίας)
 χειλ(ιάρχῳ) κοόρτ(ης) θ' Βαταο(ύ)νων
 πραιφέκτ(ῳ) σπείρ(ας) β' Οὐλπ(ίας) [Σ]υρια(κῆς)
 πραιφέκτ(ῳ) σπείρ(ας) δ' Γάλλων
 πραιφέκτ(ῳ) σπείρ(ας) Δαρδάνων
 πραιφέκτ(ῳ) ἐξπλωρ(ατόρων) Γερμανίας
 ἐπιτρόπῳ πρ[ειβ]άτης διὰ
 Φλαμινίας Αἰμιλ(ίας) Λιγυρίας
 ἐπιτρόπῳ καὶ ἡγεμ[όνι]
 τῶν παραθαλασσί[ων] Ἀλπεων . . .]

The author has not attempted to render the text in an idiomatic Greek style, for instance they have added Greek νίος, a translation of the Latin marker of filiation (§5.3.2), where Greek would normally leave a bare genitive. The name of the dedicatee and his father are both Roman and the son's name shows the *tria nomina* formula plus *tribus*. The father is referred to as ἐξοχώτατος, a translation of Latin *eminentissimus*, used in this period

¹¹³ Two bilingual texts show both the Latin and Greek formulae: *CIL* III 417, VI 22945.

¹¹⁴ This instance of interference is not discussed in Adams 2003a, nor in *IGF*. Kajanto 1966 13 reaches the same conclusion as stated above, and provides another example: *IG* XIV 1682 (Rome).

¹¹⁵ The careers of this character and his father are discussed at Pflaum 1978 246–248.

in Latin texts to refer to praetorian prefects, though often more loosely in Greek texts.¹¹⁶ The text then lists the son's four military positions, followed by his two administrative posts,¹¹⁷ replete with borrowings and calques from Latin, such as κοόρτ(ης) (*cohortis*), ἐξπλωρ(ατόρων) (*exploratorium*), παραθαλασσ[ίων Ἀλπεων] (*Alpes Maritimae*).¹¹⁸ The choice to present this dedication in Latin, but transformed into Greek, must have represented a deliberate negotiation of identities on the part of the author(s). Decourt's characterization of this inscription and IGF 121 and 120 below as '*bilingues par omission ou par défaut*'¹¹⁹ is not easy to defend. We might hazard a guess that Latin was deemed appropriate for the military and bureaucratic content, but that the choice of Greek may have been motivated by the role of the dedicatee as priest of the Leucothea, one of the cults of Marseille.¹²⁰ It is pertinent to consider the impact of Greek script. For illiterates the content, and therefore the Latin model, would not be apparent; the script would, presumably in many cases, lead them to assume that the inscription was Greek. For literates, however, the numerous abbreviations imply that this 'is a text for insiders to read, only fully comprehensible to those with the requisite cultural expertise, which involved much more than a knowledge of Latin'.¹²¹ Perhaps to the illiterate followers of the Massaliote cult of Leucothea *T. Porcius Cornelianus* was, appropriately, Greek, while for literate, high-status readers of the inscription it was clear that he was defining his role in the Roman social order.

Another example of this bilingual phenomenon, found at Nîmes (IGF 120) and first edited in 1601, lacks contextual information, as do the majority of these inscriptions. This Greek lapidary epitaph, in neat letters and surrounded by a simple border, can be dated to the Imperial period and so closely follows the Latin *exemplum* that it was included in *CIL* by Hirschfeld (XII 3406).

Θεοῖς Καταχθο-
νίοις
Ἀννίᾳ Εὐτυχίᾳ
Ἀππίος Ἀννίος
Ἀπολαυστιανὸς
μητρὶ
εὐσεβεστάτῃ

¹¹⁶ McLean 2002 230. ¹¹⁷ McLean 2002 238.

¹¹⁸ McLean 2002 330–334. ¹¹⁹ Decourt 2008 317.

¹²⁰ See Hermary and Tréziny 2000a, Morel 2000a 37, Salviat 1992 146–147. This 'white goddess' is associated with the sea, and is also attested at Lampsacus and Hyele.

¹²¹ Woolf 1998 79.

Greek may have been chosen as a suitable language of commemoration for the deceased as her *cognomen* Εὐτυχία could indicate Greek origins. Ἀππιος Ἄννιος, the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the dedicator are a relatively well-attested combination, the most famous figure being the consul in 108 *Ap. Annius Trebonius*. The *cognomen* Ἀπολαυστιανός, however, is uncommon, but is a suffixed form of Ἀπόλαυστος, a name which was frequent amongst pantomime actors.¹²² The choice of Greek may therefore also reflect the profession of the dedicator (§9.2.1).

The following Greek inscription, incised on a stone stele in neat letters and discovered 1 kilometre from Nîmes in 1856, can again be found in both *IGF* (121) and *CIL* (XII 3672).¹²³ Hirschfeld notes ‘*admisi titulum Graecum Romanorum simillimum*’.

Θεοῖς · Δαίμοσιν
 Ἰουλίᾳ · Φεῖδᾳ
 Τιτίᾳ · μητρὶ
 γλυκυτάτῃ

The reason for the choice of Greek presents itself less readily than for the above examples. However, Greek-speaking slaves may be responsible since, although the names of both the dedicator and the dedicatee are Latin, the *cognomen* Φεῖδᾳ is not uncommon for slaves and the two other tombs in the vicinity are dedicated to *Iulia Helpis* (*CIL* XII 3674, *IAN* 373) and *Bonitas* (*CIL* XII 3476, *IAN* 288), both of whose dedicators’ names include a Greek element: *Phoebus* and *Phillus*.

D M
Iuliae · Helpi
dis · C · Pompei
us · Phoebus · V · P
*uxori*¹²⁴

D ☞ M
Bonitati
Phillus ☞ coniug
pientissimae · P

It is likely that at least the second of these women was a slave, which may support the connection of *IGF* 121 with slavery, though this is highly speculative.

¹²² On this name, see Robert 1969–90 654–670 ‘Apolauustus ist ein typischer Pantomimenname’ (659).

¹²³ See also *IAN* 371. ¹²⁴ Final *-i* not included in the *CIL* transcription.

Epitaphs *IGF* 120, 121, *IAN* 373, 288 all follow the same structure: *DM* | Θεοῖς Δαίμοσιν | Θεοῖς Καταχθονίοις, dative name, nominative name, dative description. Funerary formulae are particularly prone to transfer between languages¹²⁵ and Θεοῖς Δαίμοσιν and Θεοῖς Καταχθονίοις are both calques of the Latin formula *dis manibus*.¹²⁶ The latter is also found in a third-century AD Massaliote inscription (*IGF* 23, as Θ Κ)¹²⁷ and a Nîmois inscription of unknown provenance (*IGF* 123), which contains a series of Greek names (probably of slaves or freedmen).

Θεοῖς καταχθ-
ονίοις Ὀνη-
σᾶς πάτηρ,
Καινίς μήτηρ,
Κασσίᾳ Ὀνησίμῃ
θυγατρὶ

When all the Greek inscriptions from Nîmes are surveyed, only six can be identified as funerary epitaphs, the others being honorific decrees, dedications or too fragmentary to categorize. Of these six, all are Imperial: one is a funerary epigram solely in Greek (*IGF* 118), one is a Greek epitaph (*IGF* 122) and another is the bilingual inscription discussed above (*IGF* 119). Of the remaining three (*IGF* 120, 121, 123), all use Greek script and Greek calques to represent Latin epitaphs. We might question why half the known Greek funerary epitaphs from Nîmes follow this method. It might be cautiously proposed that this could be an indication that Greek was not particularly widespread in Nîmes, generally being restricted to the elite and specifically Hellenizing circumstances, and those of Greek origin, especially slaves and freedmen. The choice of a Latin form of expression, but with a Greek façade, for these funerary markers might demonstrate an understanding that Latin was the correct way to commemorate but that Greek identity could be expressed through script. Indeed, Decourt's characterization of these calqued inscriptions as representing '*le degré zero du fait bilingue en Gaule, la manifestation réduite à son strict minimum de ce que l'on doit considérer, malgré tout, comme une forme très modeste d'acculturation*',¹²⁸ seems to miss the point. These inscriptions are the result of a high level of bilingualism that entails both the understanding of the conventional language of Latin funerary epitaphs and competent Greek linguistic skills.

¹²⁵ See Adams 2003a 76–84.

¹²⁶ See also *IGF* 93 (Vienne (Isère)), a Greek inscription with the opening Δ Μ.

¹²⁷ Though not noted in the transcription in *IGF*, the opening formula Θ Κ is extremely hard to read, I could only make out an Ο and <.

¹²⁸ Decourt 2008 309.

The combination of the two to represent a dual identity implies bilingualism and biculturalism. Though these inscriptions may seem unusual, Adams (2003a) presents many texts showing similar negotiations, particularly from Rome.

All these inscriptions hail from the Imperial period and it seems that, with the exception of the dedication to *T. Porcius Cornelianus*, they do not use Greek as a continuation from the earlier colonial period, but rather represent a new influx of Greek speakers and the phenomenon of Greek as part of a Graeco-Roman world. Most of the inscriptions can probably be related to the context of slaves and freedmen, and these individuals are perhaps using the mixture of Greek and Latin to represent their non-local Greek origins and their position in Roman society. The role of Greek in the dedication to *T. Porcius Cornelianus* seems to be motivated by his position as the priest of Leucothea. The use or revival of traditional languages in the specific context of cult is, of course, a well-attested practice in the ancient world.

The final bilingual phenomenon to be discussed is code-switching. Tag-switching occurs several times in Graeco-Latin contexts in Southern Gaul. Adams refers to tag-switches as relatively easy to analyse compared with some other forms of switching, suggesting that ‘they were facilitated by the highly formulaic character of epitaphs’.¹²⁹ Decourt describes the inscriptions discussed in this section as representative of the ‘premier niveau’ of bilingualism.¹³⁰ He compares the use of Latin on modern French grave-stones and suggests that the switches simply have ‘une valeur décorative’.¹³¹ Whilst in some cases this may be valid, each inscription must be treated individually. A desire to express duality of identity may have been a motivating factor. More specifically, a switch into Greek may be motivated by the desire to reflect ‘high culture’, whereas a switch into Latin may have been motivated by its ‘super high’ position, particularly in officialdom.¹³²

A funerary stele ‘from the region of Marseille’ (*IGF* 10), found in 1613 and dated to the third century AD on epigraphic criteria, concerns the death of a young sailor, whose name is missing (Figure 31). Following eighteen lines of Greek ‘avec sa virtuosité littéraire’,¹³³ it ends with a switch into prosaic Latin, *L(ocum) P(osuit) S(ibi)*, in letters of double the size. At this late date it might have been thought prudent to add a standard Latin funerary formula

¹²⁹ Adams 2003a 23.

¹³⁰ *IGF* uses the rather unhelpful terminology ‘fausses-bilingues’, ‘c’est-à-dire les inscriptions latines d’alphabet, de langue, et de formulaire qui ne comportent qu’une expression (la plupart du temps une exclamation), parfois réduite à un mot, en grec ou en caractères grecs’ (page viii).

¹³¹ Decourt 2008 312. ¹³² Adams 2003a 527–641, 754–755. ¹³³ Decourt 2008 310.

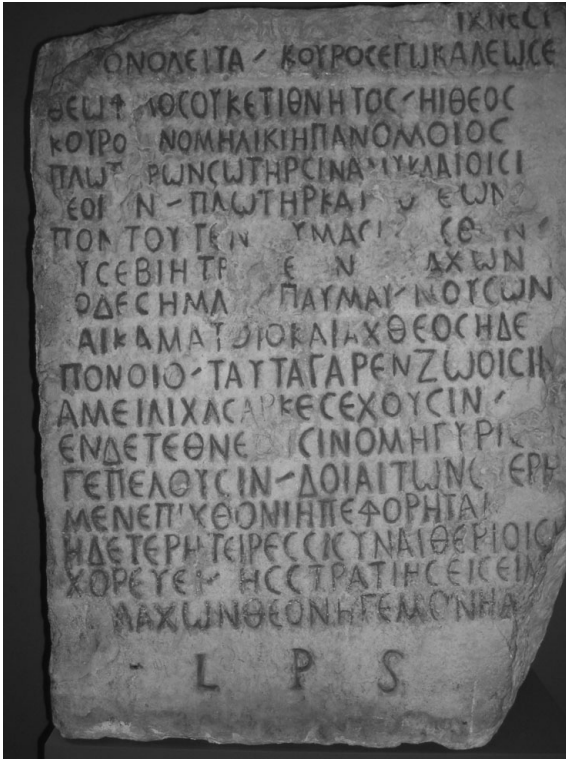


Figure 31 IGF 10, region of Marseille, Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.

to advertise the nature of the monument and to ensure its protection under the law as a *locus religiosus*.¹³⁴

Other inscriptions contain switches from Latin into Greek. Two Imperial inscriptions from Arles are likely to have been dedicated by and to bilingual people, or those with some attachment to ‘Greekness’. In the first, IGF 56, known at least since the seventeenth century, every name has a Greek element.

Paci · et quieti · ae[ternae]
et · memor(iae) · aeter[n](ae)
Q(uinto) · Aristio · Chres[imo]
iuniori · qui · uixit · an[nis — —]
mens[ibus] · III · diebus · V[— —]
Ateria · Chreste · fra-
tri · et · Arist(ius) · Chresim[us]
et · Aristia · Helpis · fil[io]
dulcissim(o) · εὐπλοῖα[α]

¹³⁴ See Carroll 2006 79 for references to the legal texts.

The tag εὐπλοία evokes maritime connections and may indicate that the family was involved in seafaring activities, perhaps trade.¹³⁵ Part of the inscription is lost, so it is possible that more Greek may have originally been included. The object itself is a white marble sarcophagus, with a *tabula ansata* containing the inscription, framed on the the extant left-hand side by a winged figure carrying a torch. The standard of the lettering and the relief work implies that considerable expense was lavished on the creation of this bilingual memorial for a beloved child.¹³⁶

In the second, *IGF* 57, found in the preceding century, the dedicatee of the inscription is a very young child, *Secundilla*. The names of the parents are not given and the name for the child in the Latin text is Latin; however, the terse Greek formula ταῦτα includes a reference to the child's Greek *sobriquet*, Ἀρωμάτι.¹³⁷ This suggests that the family may have had Greek connections, and may have even spoken Greek at home, but that Latin was chosen as the language suitable for the public presentation of the epitaph. The Greek adds very little to the content, but hints at the personal story behind the display. The relatively non-formulaic nature of the Latin, and the word play between Latin *aromata* and Greek Ἀρωμάτι suggests a bilingual and bicultural environment. The inscription, now lost, was most likely, based on early accounts, part of a sarcophagus.¹³⁸

*iacet · sub · hoc · signno · dulcissim(a) · Secundill[a]
que · rapta parentibus reliquit dolor[em]
ut tam dulcis erat tanquam aromata
desiderando semper mellea uita
que · uixit · annis · III · men(sibus) · VI · die(bus) · XVI
Ἀρωμάτι · ταῦτα*

The final example (*IGF* 126) from Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, known since the seventeenth century, includes the same formula as at Arles, ταῦτα. The inscription was carved on a *tabula ansata* in the Imperial period. In this case the epitaph declares in Latin that the dedicator arranged the epitaph for himself while still alive,¹³⁹ and his name (Latin *praenomen* and *nomen* and Greek *cognomen*) indicates that he may have been of partly Greek ethnicity.

¹³⁵ Sandberg 1954 discusses the examples of εὐπλοία and argues that they are mostly related to maritime contexts.

¹³⁶ The epithet *dulcissimus* is commonly used to express intimate relations, and is preferred (over e.g. the near-synonym *carissimus*) to describe young children, see Nielsen 1997 for further details.

¹³⁷ For the transliterated Greek tag *Palladi tauta* (*IGUR* 728), see Adams 2003a 22, 71.

¹³⁸ *IGF* page 66. ¹³⁹ See Carroll 2006 86–87 for the arrangement of burials *ante-mortem*.

L(ucius) · Gratius · Eutyches
domum · aeternam · uiuus
D(iis) sibi · curauit · M(anibus)
ne · heredem · rogaret
 τᾱϛτᾱ

We assume, again, that Latin was chosen by Eutyches as essential for the detail and particularly, perhaps, for the legal implications contained within the inscription. The code-switch into Greek adds very little semantically, but instantly alerts even the illiterate to the dual identity of the author.

Eutyches' inscription and each of the above can be fitted into the interpretive schema set out in §3.3. The interactional nature of the code-switching (both with the readers and the individuals directly concerned) is evident in the attempt to negotiate dual identities. The texts demonstrate culturally specific code-switching too, motivated by the perceived division of Latin and Greek into domains (§9.2). These negotiations are by no means particular to Southern Gaul and Adams (2003a) presents copious parallels.

None of the bi-version bilingual texts in §9.3.1 and only two of those not showing code-switching in §9.3.2 could be associated with settlements that had previously been Greek colonies. All the instances showing code-switching are from centres which had an early Greek community, or one in the vicinity: Marseille (Massalia), Arles (Thelina), and Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (?Rhodanousia).¹⁴⁰ Once again, however, these texts are from the Imperial period, and the association with the colonies may be purely coincidental. None mentions local Greek origins and, based on the details of the objects, all appear to have been the product of wealthy families, who may well be displaying their Graeco-Roman cultural prowess.

9.4 Changes in ethnolinguistic vitality

A study of the archaeology, history and epigraphy of this period deserves more space than can be afforded in this chapter. In particular, the interdisciplinary approach has been restricted to an overview of the entirety

¹⁴⁰ 'Il semble que vers 525 av. J.-C., Marseille ait fondé un comptoir (I) sur les sites de *L'Argentière-Espeyran*' (CAG 30/3 615). Barruol and Py 1978 consider this settlement to have been Rhodanousia, though doubts have been raised as to its status as a Greek site, see Dietler 2010 149–50. Roure 2010 has shown that Le Cailar, with a very similar material culture to Espeyran, could also be a candidate for Rhodanousia. Saint-Gilles-du-Gard is the site of the Roman settlement (II), 4 kilometres to the north. See CAG 30/3 615–626 for sites I and II.

of the bilingual texts and cultural contacts, partly because a large proportion of bilingual texts cannot be precisely contextualized, reminding us that inscriptions were particularly susceptible to reuse and antiquarian interest. Analysis of the bilingual texts in the context of archaeological interpretation of whole settlements and their epigraphic records awaits future publications.

Nevertheless, this brief foray has been important to contextualize the earlier period and to demonstrate the evolution of the linguistic communities over time. Most accounts of the epigraphy of the region treat either individual languages or are constrained by periodization, treating either Gallo-Greek and Greek or Latin and Greek.¹⁴¹ An analysis of the epigraphic records of all the attested speech communities allows a consideration of the changing fates of Gaulish and Greek and the reconstruction of changes in ethnolinguistic vitality.

Latin was an extremely successful language. Bourdieu (1991) describes the linguistic repertoire as 'symbolic power' and 'linguistic capital', and Latin might be seen as an economic good 'that gains rather than loses value the more it is shared with others'.¹⁴² Though the evidence is complex, we can uncover no official systematic language policy to promote Latin throughout the West and yet overwhelmingly speech communities shift to Latin.¹⁴³ Today, English, which Myers-Scotton terms the 'New Latin', can be compared in this regard.¹⁴⁴ We might have been able to predict this outcome in the absence of epigraphic evidence, as Latin-speaking communities could have been assigned a high ethnolinguistic vitality score on the basis of the indicators set out in Table 1 (p. 71).

Greek-speaking communities in Southern Gaul score highly in some respects, most notably on the 'cultural status' of the language, but lose out to Latin on several other criteria. Thus, it seems that Greek-speaking communities, for instance, of the formerly Greek colonies do not undertake a quick shift to Latin leading to the extinction of Greek in the area, but Greek was marginalized even in the colonies faced with the attractions of Latin. However, as part of the Roman success in Southern Gaul, 'Roman Greek' arrived as a language of high culture and education and in distinctive domains even kept Latin at bay (medicine, poetry). This literary, elite, educated Greek held out until in the Late Roman period the 'combination of Celtic and Roman preoccupations may... have reduced the enthusiasm for Greek culture'.¹⁴⁵ Courcelle argues that Greek culture was on the wane

¹⁴¹ Prag forthcoming makes similar comments about the epigraphic study of Sicily and beyond.

¹⁴² Spolsky 2004 6.

¹⁴³ For the question of Roman language policy, see Adams 2003b, Dubuisson 1982, 1983b.

¹⁴⁴ Myers-Scotton 2006 61–63, 405–409. ¹⁴⁵ Momigliano 1982 1108.

in Gaul in the fifth century, enjoying a brief renaissance around 470 AD, but disappears in the sixth century.¹⁴⁶ Greek also appears throughout the Roman period as the language (often alongside Latin) of new communities of slaves, traders and others from the Greek East. The relatively balanced ethnolinguistic vitality levels associated with the two linguistic communities allow for the appearance of bilingual texts, which comprise a high percentage of the total number of Greek texts from Southern Gaul. In contrast, Gaulish-speaking communities have low ethnolinguistic vitality in comparison with Latin, produce no bi-version bilingual texts and seem to have been involved in language shift and death. Again, this could have been assumed from an investigation of the indicators in Table 1 for these speech communities.

Ethnolinguistic vitality must be judged in relative not absolute terms to be of value in assessing contact situations. The results of the indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality are reached through analysis of the linguistic communities in contact. In the pre-Augustan period, Greek- and Gaulish-speaking communities seem to have interacted in relatively restricted domains and settlements. In situations of contact it appears that both were relatively well matched in terms of ethnolinguistic vitality so the status quo tends to have been preserved, with neither community shifting to the other's language and very little evidence of contact-induced change and no bilingual texts. An indication that this generalization may be too rigid is the material from the Aristaion where Celtic-speaking individuals seem to have been incorporated into the Greek discourse. This may imply that in certain Greek–Gaulish communities ethnolinguistic vitality favoured Greek speakers and language shift may have occurred. It should be remembered, however, that activity at the Aristaion reaches into the Augustan period, and its span, the end of the second century BC to the beginning of the first century AD covers the Roman conquest of Southern Gaul, and it is possible that changing power configurations during this time facilitated a change in Greek–Gaulish relations in certain areas. Indeed, it seems likely that Southern Gaul's interaction with Mediterranean communities since the seventh century, but especially from the third century with intensifying contacts with Italy, prepared the indigenous communities for a smooth Latinization and transition to a Roman province.

¹⁴⁶ Courcelle 1969 224–270.

10.1 *Gallia trilinguis*

Isidore (*Etym.* 15.1.63), based on Varro, states that Massaliotes were trilingual: *hos Varro trilingues esse ait, quod et Graece loquantur et Latine et Gallice* ‘Varro says that these people are trilingual because they speak Greek, Latin and Gaulish.’ The Massaliote, T. Annius Cimber, is thought to have declaimed in both Greek and Latin with a Gaulish accent¹ and this should remind us that, though texts in areas such as Southern Gaul may often only involve two languages, it is important to interpret these in their multilingual and multicultural setting.²

An inscription (*IGF* 54) from Noves, approximately 10 kilometres north-east of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, is indicative of the multicultural and multilingual environment.³ It probably dates to the first century and is found on a stone stele of the distinctively Celtic ‘*stèle-maison*’ type with incised cross, common at Glanum and Saint-Blaise.⁴ The inscription reads Ἀνδρόνικος Κούιντ. The first name is Greek, with Greek morphology, the second name has caused more problems. Clearly, it is a transliteration into Greek letters of the Latin name *Quintus*, which is found elsewhere in several variants, though here the final syllable is omitted. A Gaulish patronymic, perhaps in -ιος or -εος,⁵ may have been intended, but perhaps more likely a Latin

¹ Adams 2003a 190–191, 2007 288, Katz 2000 343–346.

² Adams 2003a was criticized for restricting his treatment of multilingual communities to bilingualism with the Latin language. ‘The contrast [between the analyses of Fewster 2002 and Adams 2003a 527–641] should remind us that since Egypt was not bilingual but trilingual, a complete understanding of its linguistic situation can come only from a comprehensive study embracing all three languages; it is to be hoped that such a study will soon be undertaken’ (Dickey 2003 299).

³ Roth Congès 2000b should be added to the bibliography in *IGF*. We might also have discussed inscriptions from Genouilly (see §8.2.1) or Lyon (*IGF* 143), though these are outside our region.

⁴ See, for instance, Bessac and Bouloumié 1985 and Arcelin and Arcelin 1975.

⁵ The suggestion in *IGF* and Decourt 2008 309 that the second name could be a Gaulish patronymic Κούιντος, is not paralleled. The patronymic in the nominative would have a patronymic suffix such as -ιος or -εος. Decourt’s references to *RIG I* G-68–70 do not support his suggestion, rather they show nominative patronymics in -ιος and -εος (68 and 69) respectively and a rare genitive or a dative (70) depending on the reading and interpretation. Furthermore, abbreviations of the final syllable in names are not a feature of Gallo-Greek.

genitive in *-i*, or a Greek genitive in *-ov*. Whatever the exact morphology, we have evidence for three cultures in contact: the ‘local’ in the form of the monument and Greek and Latin names. It is also possible that the second name may not in fact be a patronymic, but rather a genitive of possession, perhaps Ἀνδρόνικος the slave of Quintus.⁶ Both Decourt and Roth Congès are convinced by the patronymic analysis, though they admit that the inscription is very unusual.⁷ On the basis of the ‘exemples locaux apparentés’,⁸ which she claims all refer to free men and women, Roth Congès argues that Ἀνδρόνικος cannot have been a slave. Presumably she is referring to the ‘stèle-maisons’ of the region, but the only names inscribed on these stelae are Gaulish, and the social status of the names, which is in itself purely conjectural, cannot be applied to this unusual inscription. Roth Congès comments ‘si le caractère indigène d’Andronikos ne paraît pas douteux, le choix d’un nom latin pour le père et grec pour le fils montre un degré d’acculturation avancé’.⁹ An indigenous family that had adopted both Latin and Greek names, might, as Roth Congès comments, have been well integrated into Graeco-Italian contact cultures. If this were the case, however, a typically Celtic object of relatively poor quality and a brief text might not have been chosen for this type of commemoration, unless, of course, the choice of monument were a deliberate ploy of a non-traditional indigenous family to reaffirm their roots. The ‘caractère indigène’ of Ἀνδρόνικος is not necessarily assured. The development from a Latin-named father to a Greek-named son is not rare, but the pattern is well attested in the slave/freedman and master relationship.

Short texts such as these indicate the limitations of our ability to interpret their cultural and linguistic background. Nevertheless, the methodology set out here, inspired largely by Adams’s work, has demonstrated the potential scope of our analysis. Here we revisit the major conclusions resulting from the application of the method to Southern Gaul, before questioning the validity of the models and exploring possibilities for future research.

10.2 Linguistic and cultural contacts in Southern Gaul

Southern Gaul rarely features in the ‘grand narratives’ of Greek history and is often even excluded from maps of the Greek world.¹⁰ A new

⁶ This is the preferred alternative in *CAG* 13/2 228.

⁷ Decourt 2008 309 refers to ‘ce monument singulier’ and Roth Congès 2000b 252 to ‘l’originalité de la stèle’. Bats 2011 220 also supports the patronymic analysis.

⁸ Roth Congès 2000b 252. ⁹ Roth Congès 2000b 252–253.

¹⁰ Malkin 2011 is a notable recent exception to the general trend, with Southern Gaul thoroughly integrated into his vision of the ancient Greek world.

methodology has been employed here to investigate the cultural and linguistic landscape of Southern Gaul from the foundation of the first Phokaian colony in c. 600 to the ascendancy of Latin. Three major themes have been presented.

First, identities are multiple: groups such as ‘Celts’ and ‘Greeks’ were far from homogeneous and, thus, their responses to cultural contacts were complex and context-specific. Analysis of the distribution of Greek epigraphy, using *IGF* and *Appendix 2*, and the lack of contact-induced features between Gaulish and Greek indicate that the penetration of Greek in the pre-Roman period was largely restricted to the colonies and trading contexts (Chapter 6). We might therefore consider that Momigliano’s assessment of the ancient sources which suggests that ‘the Greeks of Massalia, which would have been the obvious centre for the exploration of the Celtic world, never went beyond the coasts’,¹¹ not to be as implausible as it seems at first glance, though with the important clarification that this refers to certain sections of Massaliote society, and not, for example, to traders. Nor were the Phokaian settlements bastions of Greekness, as traditionally thought, although ‘indigenous–Greek’ interactions should not be seen with the reductionist positivism of some recent work. The unpublished material from the Aristaion is crucial in reconstructing negotiations of identity (§8.3.5). The diverse reactions to multiculturalism can also be traced in the interactions of Greek-, Celtic- and Latin-speaking communities under Roman rule and the fate of the languages as a result of changing ethnolinguistic vitality (specialization and decline respectively) (Chapter 9).

Second, we reviewed the Gallo-Greek epigraphic evidence and demonstrated that influence from the Italian peninsula, and the Mediterranean more generally, ‘Mediterraneanization’, was earlier and more significant than suggested in traditional analyses of the region which focused on ‘Hellenization’ and the agency of the Phokaian Greeks. This fits with recent archaeological developments, as exemplified in the interpretation of sites such as Glanum (§8.2). Work on Gallo-Greek epigraphy has lagged behind the progress in archaeology; the script is still viewed as resulting from contact with Marseille, but the origins and development of Gallo-Greek should now be considered as part of the process of ‘Mediterraneanization’ (Chapter 4). The content of the inscriptions (onomastics and *dedebratoudekanten* formula) can also be linked to Italy rather than exclusively to the Greek colonies (Chapter 7).

¹¹ Momigliano 1975 59.

Third, we were able to assess two sites in more detail, Glanum and the Aristaion, and to demonstrate that, though different in important respects, both functioned as foci for contact between different communities and were breeding grounds for contact-induced change. Epigraphy was available at both sites for the second and first centuries BC, a key period of change, and we proposed that this important phase of Mediterraneanization was a facilitator of the subsequent Latinization and Romanization under the Empire. Indigenous communities that had been closely entwined with Greek and Italian culture, languages and people would presumably have found the Augustan cultural package familiar and attractive, as we see at Glanum.

10.3 Scope and limitations of the new methodology

This book has centred on a nascent field: the application of modern bilingualism and language-contact theory to the ancient world. The development of methodology, particularly models of contact linguistics and community dynamics, and the integration of archaeological and historical material with the linguistic evidence (scripts, onomastics, phenomena of language contact) have provided a new framework (Chapters 1–5).

The interdisciplinary approach has been particularly fruitful for the analysis of Southern Gaul, as the disciplines continue to be relatively compartmentalized and thus many avenues had not been explored. Two levels of analysis have been employed. The first involved the contextualization of the linguistic evidence. Though lack of space often prevented specific comments in the text, extant and accessible inscriptions from Southern Gaul discussed above have been examined by the author, unless noted to the contrary. This was important in order to understand the objects and also to verify readings, and was particularly useful in the case of *IGF* whose photographs are of a poor standard,¹² those of *RIG* not being much better. What became clear, however, especially in Chapter 9, is that many lapidary inscriptions cannot be contextualized at all due to their early discovery or reuse, and, even up to the 1960s, little effort was made to investigate and document the find-spots of epigraphic material. This certainly does not invalidate the approach, it simply means that we have to be aware that older material will not always provide the most fertile ground and be appreciative that contextual information is now afforded the importance it deserves.

¹² Figures 104 and 91 in *IGF* have even been inverted.

The second level of interdisciplinarity has been to test the conclusions reached through an analysis of the linguistic evidence using the models of contact linguistics and community dynamics with the archaeological analysis of the same area. The scope for the interdisciplinary approach remains broad at this level, and is less likely to be skewed by specific circumstances which may hamper the contextualization of individual inscriptions. A high degree of correlation was found between the two analyses. Any discrepancies that might arise in this form of analysis in future work would have to be treated on a case by case basis, but might well pose problems for the methodology set out here.

Tables 12 and 13 demonstrate how the findings from Southern Gaul fit with the models set out in Chapters 2 and 3. The models focusing on contact linguistics, bilingual texts and community dynamics are revisited (Tables 2 and 5), this time with examples from the area included.

These models are useful in that they present the complexities of bilingualism in a straightforward way. Beyond this, they may have a predictive power. For example, if an area in the past provides epigraphy and other material culture, but no commentary from contemporary authors to indicate the nature of cultural relations and attitudes towards language, we might be able to make some tentative suggestions about the relative ethnolinguistic vitality of the region based on the phenomena of language contact and the type of bilingual texts. Unfortunately, a few of the linguistic outcomes in Table 12 can be found in numerous situations of contact and are therefore only weakly diagnostic. Table 13 has the potential to be a more useful heuristic tool. Occasionally researchers working on bilingual texts where one of the contact languages is poorly understood (e.g. Iberian or Etruscan) have posed the question of whether any assumptions might be made based on the typology of bilingual texts. I would argue that, on the basis of the above model, this is now possible.

It might also be thought possible, following these models, to extrapolate back to attempt to uncover some indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality (Table 1) once its level has been assigned to a community. Theoretically, one could attempt to fill in some of the indicators through archaeological analysis and make assumptions about the remaining indicators based on the result. However, this could be dangerous, not least because modern theory has explained that 'subjective ethnolinguistic vitality', namely the view of the indicators formed by the speech community itself, which may be very different from the objective account of the indicators, may skew the results but remain invisible in any investigation.

Table 12 *Revisiting Table 2: Contact linguistics and community dynamics*

	Intense language contact		Weaker language contact	
	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality
Typologically similar	<i>Language shift</i> (leading to Language death?) <i>Regional varieties</i> Convergence <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language maintenance</i> <i>Regional varieties</i> <i>Convergence</i> Koineization <i>Dialectal levelling</i> Bilingual mixed languages <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language maintenance</i> Language shift Regional varieties <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language maintenance</i>
Examples from Imperial Southern Gaul	Gaulish in central areas in contact with Latin	Greek in contact with Latin, e.g. in the colonies	Gaulish in remote areas in contact with Latin	Latin in contact with Greek in predominately Latin-speaking settlements
Typologically dissimilar	<i>Language shift</i> (leading to language death?) <i>Regional varieties</i> <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language maintenance</i> <i>Regional varieties</i> Bilingual mixed languages <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language maintenance</i> Language shift Creoles Pidgins <i>Learners' varieties</i>	<i>Language maintenance</i> Pidgins
Examples from Southern Gaul	Iberian, Latin, Greek, Gaulish in contact in settlements in the Imperial period in South-western Gaul	Iberian, Italic, Greek, Gaulish in contact in settlements in the pre- Imperial period in South-western Gaul	Iberian, Latin, Greek, Gaulish in contact, e.g. in contexts of slavery, mining	Iberian, Italic, Greek, Gaulish in contact, e.g. in context of trade

Table 13 *Revisiting Table 5: Bilingual texts and community dynamics*

Type of community	One language			Two (or more) languages	
	Closed	Open, high ethnolinguistic vitality	Open, low ethnolinguistic vitality	Even ethnolinguistic vitality	Uneven ethnolinguistic vitality
Type of bilingual texts	No bi-version. No texts displaying bilingual phenomena.	No bi-version. Few texts displaying bilingual phenomena, perhaps including lexical borrowing.	No bi-version. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving lexical borrowing, perhaps tag-switching.	Bi-version common (though not in polarized contexts, see p. 86). Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Bi-directional influence.	Fewer bi-version. Texts displaying bilingual phenomena involving code-switching, borrowing, interference. Linguistic features of the higher vitality group are mostly found in the lower.
Examples from Southern Gaul	Some early Gaulish settlements	Pre-Roman Greek colonies	Gaulish settlements in contact with Latin	Greek–Latin bilingualism	Gaulish–Latin bilingualism

10.4 Future directions

A picture of the identities and cultural evolution of Southern Gaul has been built up through the application of the new methodology. However, as with any study of this scope much had to be excluded and unpublished material could not, in many cases, be included. Though frustrating, this indicates the productivity of this field. One important aspect that deserves more attention is the changing fortunes of Celtic names over time (§5.3.3). As we saw, this would be a huge undertaking if the interdisciplinary approach were privileged and the Latin material is not yet suitably assembled. Nîmes (whose rich *corpus* of inscriptions will soon be published),¹³ Aix-en-Provence and Marseille provide excellent evidence for detailed case studies of both the onomastics and the evolution of the epigraphic record over time. Once the complete publication of the inscriptions from the Aristaion and Olbia appears, the already intriguing material discussed in §8.3 will be considerably augmented and open to rigorous examination. The information from these sites is likely to be of utmost importance for our understanding of onomastics, negotiations of identities, colonization and cultic practice. Chapter 9 also uncovered the need for considerable further research. The close examination of the entirety of the Latin epigraphy, once assembled, may reveal more evidence of texts displaying bilingual phenomena and regional varieties created through contact between Latin, Greek and Gaulish. If patterns form from the linguistic evidence, these might be investigated further using archaeological and historical analysis of the settlements.

One major conclusion from this study has been the importance of the networks of communication across the Mediterranean and the complexity and fluidity of contacts and influences. Any future research in the areas surrounding Southern Gaul would therefore be of significance not only in testing and developing the proposed methodology and models, but also in building up an understanding of the interregional interactions and feeding back into the analysis presented here. In particular, the current work being undertaken on the Iberian inscriptions of South-western Gaul and *Hispania* should be integrated into the picture. Further micro-regions of Southern Gaul could be analysed in detail to try to flesh out the intricate multilingual picture, which could then be expanded to *Hispania* and *Italia*.

Unravelling the linguistic and cultural contacts has never been systematically attempted using a synthesis of the archaeological and linguistic data. The recent archaeological advances, both in quantity and quality, have

¹³ Under the direction of Michel Christol.

revealed an increasingly mixed material culture and are a constant reminder of our incomplete knowledge. Linguistic evidence must be employed to develop and test divergent theories concerning the composition of the settlements. It is only by combining theoretical perspectives with a detailed re-examination of all the evidence that we can build up a picture of the complex entanglements and the creation and manipulation of identities across the Mediterranean and beyond.

Appendix 1 Letter forms in *RIG I*

KEY: Y = Yes, N = No, – = Either not in the inscription or no information
(letter fragmentary or known only from transcriptions).

<i>RIG I</i> G-	Location	Lunate sigma	Lunate epsilon	Cursive omega	Alpha
1	Alleins	Y	Y	–	Broken cross-bar
2	Bouc-Bel-Air	–	–	–	–
3	Coudoux	Y	N	–	Horizontal cross-bar
4	Coudoux	Y (angular)	N	–	–
5	Eyguières	–	–	–	Horizontal cross-bar
6	Eyguières	–	–	–	–
7	Eyguières	–	–	–	Other
8	Eyguières	Y	–	–	Horizontal cross-bar
9	Eyguières	Y	Both	–	Mixture
10	Les Baux-de-Provence	–	–	–	–
11	Les Baux-de-Provence	–	–	–	–
12	Les Baux-de-Provence	Y (angular)	N	–	Horizontal cross-bar
13	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	Y	Y	–	Mixture: horizontal and slanted cross-bar
14	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	Y	–	–	Horizontal cross-bar
15	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	–	–	–	?Broken cross-bar
16	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	–	–	–	–
17	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	–	–	–	Slanted cross-bar
18	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	–	–	–	–
19	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	Y	–	–	Horizontal cross-bar
20	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	Y	–	–	Horizontal cross-bar
21	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	–	–	–	–
22	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	Y	–	–	–
23	Les Pennes-Mirabeau	–	Y	–	–
24	Marseille	–	Y	–	–
25	Mouriès	–	–	–	–
26	Mouriès	–	–	–	Horizontal cross-bar
27	Orgon	Y	Y	–	Broken cross-bar

(*cont.*)

<i>RIGI</i> G-	Location	Lunate sigma	Lunate epsilon	Cursive omega	Alpha
28	Saint-Chamas	Y	Both	—	Horizontal cross-bar
29	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
30	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
31	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
32	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
33	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
34	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
35	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	?Broken cross-bar
36	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
37	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
38	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
39	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Broken cross-bar
40	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
41	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
42	Saint-Blaise	—	N	—	—
43	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
44	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
45	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
46	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
47	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
48	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
49	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
50	Saint-Blaise	Y	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
51	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
52	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
53	Saint-Blaise	N	—	—	—
54	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
55	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
56	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
57	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
58	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
59	Saint-Blaise	—	N	—	—
60	Saint-Blaise	—	Y	—	—
61	Saint-Blaise	—	Y	—	—
62	Saint-Blaise	—	—	—	—
63	Glanum	—	N	—	—
64	Glanum	—	Y	—	?Broken cross-bar
65	Glanum	Y	Y	—	?Horizontal cross-bar
66	Glanum	—	—	—	—
67	Glanum	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
68	Glanum	Y	—	—	Broken cross-bar
69	Glanum	Y	Y	—	Broken cross-bar
70	Glanum	Y	Y	—	—

RIG I G-	Location	Lunate sigma	Lunate epsilon	Cursive omega	Alpha
71	Glanum	Y	N	—	Horizontal cross-bar
72	Glanum	Y	—	—	Broken cross-bar
73	Glanum	Y	Y	—	Slanted cross-bar
74	Glanum	—	—	—	—
75	Glanum	—	—	—	—
76	Glanum	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
77	Glanum	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
78	Glanum	—	—	—	—
79	Glanum	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
80	Glanum	—	—	—	—
81	Glanum	—	—	—	—
82	Glanum	—	—	—	—
83	Glanum	—	—	—	—
84	Glanum	—	—	—	—
85	Glanum	—	—	—	—
86	Glanum	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
87	Glanum	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
88	Glanum	Y	Y	—	—
89	Glanum	—	Y	—	Broken cross-bar
90	Glanum	—	N	—	—
91	Glanum	—	N	—	—
92	Glanum	—	N	—	—
93	Glanum	—	N	—	—
94	Glanum	—	N	—	—
95	Glanum	—	Y	—	—
96	Glanum	—	—	—	—
97	Glanum	—	—	—	—
98	Glanum	Y	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
99	Glanum	Y	—	—	—
100	Glanum	Y	Y	—	—
101	Glanum	Y	—	—	—
102	Glanum	Y	—	—	—
103	Glanum	Y	—	—	—
104	Glanum	—	—	—	Broken cross-bar
105	Glanum	—	Y	—	—
106	Ventabren	—	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
107	Ventabren	Y	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
108	Vitrolles	N	N	Y	Broken cross-bar
109	Apt	—	—	—	—
110	Apt	Y	N	—	Broken cross-bar
111	Cabrières-d'Avignon	Y	—	—	—
112	Cadenet	Y	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar

(cont.)

<i>RIGI</i> G-	Location	Lunate sigma	Lunate epsilon	Cursive omega	Alpha
113	Cadenet	—	N	—	—
114	Cadenet	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
115	Cadenet	—	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
116	Carpentras	—	—	—	—
117	Cavaillon	Y?	Y	—	—
118	Cavaillon	Y	—	—	Broken cross-bar
119	Cavaillon	Y	—	—	—
120	Cavaillon	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
121	Cavaillon	Y	Y	—	Broken cross-bar
122	Cavaillon	Y	Y	—	Broken cross-bar
123	Cavaillon	Y	Both	—	?Horizontal cross-bar
124	Cavaillon	—	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
125	Cavaillon	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
126	Cavaillon	—	—	—	?Broken cross-bar
127	Cavaillon	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
128	Cavaillon	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
129	Cavaillon	—	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
130	Cavaillon	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
131	Cavaillon	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
132	Cavaillon	—	—	—	—
133	Cavaillon	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
134	Cavaillon	—	Y	—	—
135	Cavaillon	Y	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
136	Cavaillon	—	—	—	—
137	Cavaillon	Y	—	—	—
138	Cavaillon	Y	—	—	Broken cross-bar
139	Cavaillon	—	—	—	—
140	Cavaillon	—	—	—	—
141	Cavaillon	Y	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
142	Cavaillon	Y	Y	—	—
143	Cavaillon	Y?	—	—	—
144	Cavaillon	Y	—	—	—
145	Cavaillon	—	—	—	—
146	Gargas	Y	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
147	L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue	—	Y	—	Mixture
148	Malaucène	Y	N	—	?Broken cross-bar
149	Orange	—	—	—	—
150	Robion	—	—	—	—
151	Saignon	—	N	—	Broken cross-bar
152	Saint-Saturnin-d'Apt	Y	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
153	Vaison-la-Romaine	Y	Y	Y	Broken cross-bar
154	Villelaure	—	—	—	—
155	Alba	—	Y	—	—

<i>RIG I</i> G-	Location	Lunate sigma	Lunate epsilon	Cursive omega	Alpha
156	Alès	Y	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
157	Alès	—	—	—	—
158	Alès	—	—	—	—
159	Alès	Y	—	—	—
160	Alès	Y	—	—	—
161	Beaucaire	—	—	—	—
162	Beaucaire	—	—	—	—
163	Beaucaire	Y	Y	—	Broken cross-bar
164	Beaucaire	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
165	Beaucaire	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
166	Beaucaire	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
167	Beaucaire	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
168	Beaucaire	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
169	Beaucaire	Y	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
170	Beaucaire	—	—	—	Broken cross-bar
171	Beaucaire	—	—	—	—
172	Beaucaire	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
173	Beaucaire	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
174	Beaucaire	Y	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
175	Beaucaire	—	Y	—	—
176	Beaucaire	Y	Y	—	—
177	Beaucaire	Y	—	—	—
178	Beaucaire	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
179	Beaucaire	—	Y	—	—
180	Beaucaire	—	—	—	—
181	Beaucaire	—	—	—	—
182	Beaucaire	—	—	—	—
183	Collias	Y	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
184	Collorgues	—	—	—	Mixture
185	Gaujac	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
186	Gaujac	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
187	Gaujac	—	—	—	Broken cross-bar
188	Gaujac	—	—	—	—
189	Gaujac	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
190	Gaujac	—	—	—	?Slanted cross-bar
191	Gaujac	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
192	Gaujac	Y	—	—	—
193	Gaujac	Y	Y	—	Slanted cross-bar
194	Gaujac	—	—	—	—
195	Gaujac	—	—	—	—
196	Gaujac	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
197	Gaujac	—	—	—	—

(cont.)

<i>RIG I G-</i>	Location	Lunate sigma	Lunate epsilon	Cursive omega	Alpha
198	Gaujac	Y	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
199	Gaujac	Y	Y	—	—
200	Laudun	—	—	—	—
201	Monfaucon	—	—	—	—
202	Montmirat	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
203	Nîmes	N	N	—	Broken cross-bar
204	Nîmes	—	—	—	—
205	Nîmes	—	—	—	—
206	Nîmes	Y (angular)	N	—	Horizontal cross-bar
207	Nîmes	Y	Y	—	—
208	Nîmes	—	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
209	Nîmes	—	—	—	—
210	Nîmes	—	—	—	—
211	Nîmes	—	—	—	—
212	Nîmes	Y	—	—	Broken cross-bar
213	Redessan	—	Y	—	—
214	Saint-Côme-et-Maruéjols	N	N	—	Broken cross-bar
215	Saint-Côme-et-Maruéjols	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
216	Saint-Gilles	Y	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
217	Sernhac	—	—	—	—
218	Sernhac	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
219	Uzès	Y	N	Y	Horizontal cross-bar
220	Villevieille	—	Y	—	Broken cross-bar
221	Castelnau-le-lez	Y	—	—	—
222	Castelnau-le-lez	—	—	—	Broken cross-bar
223	Lunel	—	—	—	—
224	Montagnac	N	N	—	Broken cross-bar
225	Genouilly	Y	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
226	Saint-Paul-d'Uzore	Y	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
227	Saint-Marcel-de-Félines	Y	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
228	Roanne	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
229	Roanne	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
230	Roanne	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
231	Roanne	—	Y	—	—
232	Roanne	—	—	—	—
233	Roanne	—	—	—	Other
234	Roanne	—	—	—	—
235	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
236	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	Y	Horizontal cross-bar
237	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
238	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
239	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
240	Mont-Beuvray	—	Y	—	—

RIG I G-	Location	Lunate sigma	Lunate epsilon	Cursive omega	Alpha
241	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
242	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	—
243	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
244	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	—
245	Mont-Beuvray	Y	Y	—	Slanted cross-bar
246	Mont-Beuvray	Y	—	—	—
247	Mont-Beuvray	Y	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
248	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
249	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	—
250	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	Y	—
251	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	Y	—
252	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
253	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	—
254	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	—
255	Mont-Beuvray	—	—	—	Slanted cross-bar
256	Alise-Sainte-Reine	Y	—	Y	Horizontal cross-bar
257	Alise-Sainte-Reine	Y	Y	Y	Horizontal cross-bar
258	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
259	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	—
260	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	—
261	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	—
262	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
263	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	—
264	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	Y	—
265	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	—
266	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	—
267	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	—
268	Alise-Sainte-Reine	Y	Y	—	Horizontal cross-bar
269	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
270	Alise-Sainte-Reine	—	—	—	Horizontal cross-bar
271	Saint-Germain-Source-Seine	Y	—	Y	Other
272	Vertault	—	—	—	—
273	Vertault	—	—	—	—
274	Vertault	—	—	—	—

Appendix 2 List of Greek inscriptions of France not included in *IGF*

No.	Find-spot	Département	Type of inscription	Date	Bibliography	Notes
1 (<i>IGG</i> 128)	Mostly Southern France, workshop in Arles	Bouches-du-Rhône	Lead votive mirrors	2nd to 4th centuries AD	<i>BE</i> 1988 256; <i>BE</i> 1990 161; <i>BE</i> 1993 103; <i>SEG</i> 37 1987 825–834; <i>SEG</i> 41 1991 890; <i>SEG</i> 49 1999 1395; <i>SEG</i> 53 2003 1146–1148; <i>RAN</i> 18 1985 343–373; <i>RAN</i> 20 1987 415–418; <i>ZPE</i> 91 1992 192–200; <i>CAG</i> 13/2 108.34; Liou and Sciallano 2003	14 announced in 2003 (Liou and Sciallano). One further example, the only so far in Latin, found at Vindolanda, has been published in <i>Britannia</i> (Tomlin 2011 no. 17). It reads <i>Q Licinius Tutinus Arelate facit</i> (<i>sic</i> , perhaps mirroring the present tense of the verb in the Greek versions).
2 (<i>IGG</i> 138)	Autun	Saône-et-Loire	Gold case	Later Roman Imperial period	<i>Gallia</i> 44.1 1986 144–146; <i>SEG</i> 36 1986 948; <i>BE</i> 1988 264	
3 (<i>IGG</i> 170)	Roanne	Loire	Graffiti on ceramic	1st century BC	<i>RIG I</i> G-228–234; <i>Gallia</i> 29 1971 411–414; <i>EM</i> 1 165; <i>EM</i> 3 428; Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997	Gallo-Greek? See §6.3.2 for discussion.

4 (<i>IGG</i> 204)	Pech Maho	Aude	Potter's mark on indigenous dolium	Post 5th century	<i>Gallia</i> 17 1959 453; Solier 1959 –60; Benoît 1965 120; Gallet de Santerre 1965 635; Clavel 1970 114	See §6.4.2 for discussion.
5 (<i>IGG</i> 206)	Bourgoin-Jaillieu	Rhône	Inscription on a bed	2nd century BC	<i>SEG</i> 32 1982 1078; <i>Gallia</i> 40 1982 187–188	Import?
6 (<i>IGG</i> 209)	Chatillon-sur-Seiche	Ille-et-Vilaine	Graffito on jar	2nd century AD	<i>Gallia</i> 50 1993 223–225; <i>SEG</i> 43 1993 678, 1325; <i>REG</i> 106 1993 1–11; <i>BE</i> 1994 171	
7 (<i>IGG</i> 210)	Lattes	Hérault	Graffiti on ceramic	6th to 1st centuries BC	<i>RAN</i> 21 1988 121–148; Bats 1988b ; <i>Gallia</i> 50 1993 81; <i>Lattara</i> 7 280; <i>SEG</i> 43 1993 680; Bats 2004 16–17; Bats 2011 206, 207	
8 (<i>IGG</i> 231)	Olbia	Var	Graffiti on ceramic		<i>CRAI</i> 1964 313–321; <i>BE</i> 1966 503; Coupry 1971 ; Sarrazanas forthcoming	
9 (<i>IGG</i> 233)	Mézin	Lot-et-Garonne	Inscribed glass skyphos	Beginning of Roman Imperial period	<i>RAN</i> 25 1992 194–195; <i>SEG</i> 42 1992 966; <i>BE</i> 1994 179, 704	Import?

(*cont.*)

No.	Find-spot	Département	Type of inscription	Date	Bibliography	Notes
10 (<i>IGG</i> 235)	Bagaud 2	Bouches-du-Rhône	Tin ingots	Late 2nd, early 1st century BC	Long 1984 , 1985 , 1987 ; <i>SEG</i> 36 1986 950; <i>SEG</i> 38 1988 1022; <i>SEG</i> 42 1992 967; <i>BE</i> 1989 154, 155; <i>BE</i> 1993 115; <i>Gallia Info</i> 1987–8 I p. 29–30; <i>MHM</i> 1988 no. 325, 326 p. 71; <i>ZPE</i> 91 1992 203–208	Import? See §6.4.2 for discussion.
11 (<i>IGG</i> 240)	Bages	Aude	Gold ring	Roman Imperial period	<i>RAN</i> 17 1984 345–347; <i>SEG</i> 36 1986 948; <i>BE</i> 1987 112	
12 (<i>IGG</i> 241)	St-Michel-d'Hérault	Hérault	Bronze ring	Roman Imperial period	<i>RAN</i> 17 1984 347; <i>SEG</i> 36 1986 948; <i>SEG</i> 48 1998 1307; <i>BE</i> 1987 112	
13 (<i>IGG</i> 242)	Antibes	Alpes-Maritimes	Graffiti on ceramic		Clergues 1966 ; <i>Gallia</i> 18 1960 319	Publication of Clergues' excavations is very partial; it is not clear how many graffiti exist.
14 (<i>IGG</i> 244)	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito	3rd/2nd century AD	<i>MHM</i> no. 243 p. 51	
15 (<i>IGG</i> 245)	?	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito		<i>Itinéraire d'une mémoire</i> 1990 86	

16 (<i>IGG</i> 251)	Saintes	Charente-Maritime	Graffito	1st century AD	Maurin 1994 313	
17 (<i>IGG</i> 253)	Vaugrenier	Alpes-Maritimes	Graffiti on Campanian ware	2nd/1st century BC	Unpublished. Clergues 1966 42–54, 1972; Arnaud 1997–8, 1999, 2001	See §6.4.2 for discussion.
18 (<i>IGG</i> 254)	Fréjus	Var	Inscription on piece of bone	Caesar to Nero	Unpublished? Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1976 (<i>comparanda</i>)	
19 (<i>IGG</i> 259)	Antibes	Alpes-Maritimes	Sherd	6th century BC	Oikonomides 1984; <i>SEG</i> 50 2000 1074; Hermary 2000c 159–160; <i>BE</i> 2001 571	Now lost and questions have been raised over the context of the find (Hermary 2000c 160).
20 (<i>IGG</i> 260)	Antibes	Alpes-Maritimes	Legend on ceramic	5th century BC	Oikonomides 1984	Import?
21	Trans	Var	Graffito on vase	1st century AD	<i>Gallia</i> 12 1954 437–438; <i>SEG</i> 16 1959 623	Despite inclusion in <i>SEG</i> , the letter forms suggest we are dealing with the Latin alphabet: $\text{AB[...]} \text{HIKLM[...]} \text{OPQRSTUVWXYZ[?]}$ (reading based on the drawing in <i>Gallia</i> 1954 438).
22	Ensérune	Hérault	Graffiti and dipinti on ceramic	Various	<i>SEG</i> 16 1959 629; Jannoray 1955 352 note 4; July 1976	

(*cont.*)

No.	Find-spot	<i>Département</i>	Type of inscription	Date	Bibliography	Notes
23	Ensérune	Hérault	Tituli on handles of amphorae	Hellenistic	SEG 16 1959 630; Jannoray 1955 326–327 note 1	Imports?
24	Strasbourg	Bas-Rhin	Tituli on fragments	1st century AD	Gallia 12 1954 339–340; SEG 16 1959 631	Imports?
25	Agde	Hérault	Graffito on Attic ceramic	5th century BC	July 1976	
26	Cavalaire	Var	Graffito on bowl of local fabrication	2nd century AD	Brun, Congès and Dewert 1988 57	
27	Antibes	Alpes-Maritimes	<i>Tabella defixionis</i>	Hellenistic (?)	Gallia 18 1960 319–320; SEG 19 1963 635	
28	Mozac	Puy-de-Dôme	Marble epitaph	End 2nd to 3rd century AD	SEG 33 1983 823; SEG 38 1988 1034; Gallia 41.2 1983 427–428; Gallia 43 1985 211–214	Provenance may be Smyrna or a nearby island.
29	Neddé	Haute-Vienne	Amulet (?) on gold sheet	c. AD 100	SEG 33 1983 824; CRAI 1983 697–701	
30	Fos	Bouches-du-Rhône	Painted inscription on amphora	Undated	SEG 37 1987 822a; Archaeonautica 7 1987 84–89	Rhodian amphora.
31	Fos	Bouches-du-Rhône	Painted inscriptions on amphorae		SEG 37 1987 822b; Archaeonautica 7 1987 84–89	Rhodian or Cretan amphorae.

32	Fos	Bouches-du-Rhône	Painted inscription on fragment of amphora		SEG 37 1987 822c; <i>Archaeonautica</i> 7 1987 94	Unidentified amphora, continuous inscription.
33	Lyon	Rhône	Painted inscriptions on amphorae	Undated and c. AD 50–100	SEG 37 1987 823; <i>Archaeonautica</i> 7 1987 152, 159	Imports?
34	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Painted inscriptions on amphorae	Undated and c. AD 400	SEG 37 1987 824; <i>Archaeonautica</i> 7 1987 106, 108	Rhodian and ?
35	Saint-Blaise	Bouches-du-Rhône	Painted inscriptions on amphorae	Late Roman	SEG 37 1987 835; <i>Archaeonautica</i> 7 1987 125–128; <i>Gallia</i> 27 1969 433–435	
36	Vienne	Isère	Painted inscription on amphora	c. AD 50	SEG 37 1987 835; <i>Archaeonautica</i> 7 1987 164	From Greek East.
37	Sault-du-Rhône	Ain	Intaglio	3rd century AD?	SEG 38 1988 1024; <i>BE</i> 1990 172; Guiraud 1988 no. 67	
38	Angerville	Essonne	Intaglio	2nd century AD	SEG 38 1988 1025; <i>BE</i> 1990 172; Guiraud 1988 no. 783	
39	Arles	Bouches-du-Rhône	Intaglio	1st century BC to 2nd/3rd century AD	SEG 38 1988 1026; <i>BE</i> 1990 172; Guiraud 1988 no. 905	
40	Feurs	Loire	Intaglio	2nd/3rd century AD	SEG 38 1988 1027; <i>BE</i> 1990 172; Guiraud 1988 no. 921	

(cont.)

No.	Find-spot	<i>Département</i>	Type of inscription	Date	Bibliography	Notes
41	Piolenc	Vaucluse	Intaglio	2nd/4th century AD	SEG 38 1988 1028; <i>BE</i> 1990 172; Guiraud 1988 no. 922	
42	Ehl	Bas-Rhin	Intaglio	Undated	SEG 38 1988 1029; <i>BE</i> 1990 172; Guiraud 1988 no. 930	
43	Escolives	Nièvre	Intaglio	4th century AD	SEG 38 1988 1030; <i>BE</i> 1990 172; Guiraud 1988 no. 931	
44	Reims	Marne	Cameo	3rd century AD	SEG 38 1988 1031; <i>BE</i> 1990 172; Guiraud 1988 no. 1009	
45	Héninel	Pas-de-Calais	Cameo	Undated	SEG 38 1988 1032; <i>BE</i> 1990 172; Guiraud 1988 no. 1010	
46	Arles	Bouches-du-Rhône	Intaglio	Undated	SEG 38 1988 1033 (the reference to Glanum is erroneous); <i>Gallia Info</i> 1988 2, 236; <i>BE</i> 1990 172	
47	Thil	Haute-Garonne	Two silver vases	Gallo-Roman	SEG 38 1988 1037; Feugère 1988; <i>BE</i> 1990 169, 850	Import?
48	Lyon	Rhône	Stamped collyria	c. AD 200	SEG 40 1990 912; <i>Gallia</i> 47 1990 215–249; <i>BE</i> 1991 150	

49	Eauze	Gers	Inscribed ring	3rd century AD	SEG 43 1993 678bis; SEG 47 1997 1529; Guiraud and Schaad 1992 41 no. 3, 51 no. 8, 75–83; AE 1993 no. 1185	Import? Foreign names.
50	Fréjus	Var	Painted inscriptions on amphorae		SEG 43 1993 679; Liou 1992; AE 1992 no. 1163 f–i	Rhodian and Cretan amphorae.
51	Narbonne	Aude	Dipinto on amphora		SEG 43 1993 681bis; Liou 1993 137; AE 1993 no. 1166	Rhodian amphora.
52	Golfe-Juan		Bronze parts of beds	c. AD 70	SEG 44 1994 850; Baudoin, Liou and Long 1994; BE 1995 119	Imports?
53	Lyon?	Rhône	Lead tesserae	Undated	SEG 46 1996 1363	
54	Lyon?	Rhône	Lead amulets	Undated	SEG 46 1996 1364	
55	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Stamps on amphorae		SEG 49 1999 1397; MDR no. 86	Rhodian amphorae.
56	La Monédière (Bessan)	Hérault	Graffiti on Attic vases and 2 ostraka	c. 5th century BC	Bats 2011 206; July 1976	
57	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Stamps on amphorae		SEG 49 1999 1397; MDR nos. 254–1 and 3	Amphorae from Marseille.
58	Olbia	Var	Stamp on amphora		SEG 49 1999 1401a; CAG 83/1 445; BE 2001 575; Coupry 1971 145–146	Rhodian amphora.

(cont.)

No.	Find-spot	Département	Type of inscription	Date	Bibliography	Notes
59	Olbia	Var	Stamps on amphorae		SEG 49 1999 1401b; CAG 83/1 446; BE 2001 575; Couprie 1971 145–146	Amphorae from Marseille.
60	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito on Campanian A		SEG 50 2000 1076; Hermay and Tréziny 2000b 153; BE 2001 570	
61	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito on foot of Attic cup	5th century BC?	SEG 50 2000 1076; Hermay and Tréziny 2000b 155; BE 2001 570	
62	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito on sherd of Campanian A		SEG 50 2000 1076; Hermay and Tréziny 2000b 156; BE 2001 570	
63	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Stone epitaph	Undated	SEG 50 2000 1077; Hermay and Tréziny 2000b 153–154; BE 2001 570	Originally thought to be from Ostia, Hermay and Tréziny argue it is from Marseille.
64	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito on Attic cup	5th century BC	SEG 50 2000 1078; Hermay and Tréziny 2000b 149; BE 2001 570	

65	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito on Attic skyphos	450–400 BC	SEG 50 2000 1079; Hermary and Tréziny 2000b 149–153; BE 2001 570	Not included in <i>IGF</i> because possibly an import from Sidon, but <i>IGF</i> 40 and 43 are included.
66	Gulf of Fos		Inscription on glass vessel	c. AD 50	SEG 51 2001 1464a; Foy and Nenna 2001 81 no. 73	
67	Nîmes	Gard	Inscription on glass vessel	1st/2nd century AD	SEG 51 2001 1464b; Foy and Nenna 2001 120 no. 158	
68	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Inscription on glass vessel	c. AD 50	SEG 51 2001 1464c; Foy and Nenna 2001 178 no. 283	
69	Aix-en-Provence	Bouches-du-Rhône	Stone inscription	Roman period	BE 1952 187	
70	Marignane	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffiti on vases	From the 3rd century BC	CAG 13/2 222	
71	Saint-Blaise	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito on pithos	6th century BC	Bats 2011 200; Chausserie-Laprée 2005 237; Rolland 1951 145–147, fig. 163	
72	Saint-Blaise	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito on vessel	6th/5th century BC	Bats 2011 200; Bouloumié 1992 269	

(cont.)

No.	Find-spot	Département	Type of inscription	Date	Bibliography	Notes
73	Lattes	Hérault	Lead letter	c. 430 BC	Bats 2010b ; Bats 2011 202–204	
74	Lattes	Hérault	Lead letter, unpublished, badly damaged	c. 430 BC	Bats 2010b 755–756; Bats 2011 202–204	
75	Ruscino	Pyrénées-Orientales	Lead tablet ‘du même type’ as those at Lattes, Pech Maho, Emporion.	4th century	Unpublished (to be published by De Hoz). Bats 2010b 756; Bats 2011 204	
76	Ruscino	Pyrénées-Orientales	Graffiti on Attic ceramics	5th and 4th century	Bats 2011 204, 207; July 1976	
77	Montlaurès	Aude	Graffiti on Attic ceramics	5th century	Bats 2011 204; July 1976	
78	Béziers	Hérault	Graffiti on Attic ceramics	5th century	Bats 2011 206; July 1976	
79	Elne	Hérault	Graffiti on Attic ceramics	5th and 4th century BC	Bats 2011 210, 212, 213; July 1976	
80	Pech Maho	Aude	Graffito on Attic cup	5th century	July 1976	
81	Mailhac	Aude	Graffiti on Attic cups	6th or 5th century BC	July 1976	
82	Canonges, Villasavary	Aude	Graffito on Attic cup	End of 6th century BC	July 1976	
83	Marseille	Bouches-du-Rhône	Stone inscription	2nd century AD	SEG 52 2002 998; BE 2004 471; Moliner 2001 350	
84	Beaumes-de-Venise	Vaucluse	Graffiti on Campanian ware	2nd/1st century BC (not ‘Roman Imperial period’ as in SEG)	SEG 53 2003 1141; BE 2005 628; CAG 84/1 410	

85	Vaison-la-Romaine	Vaucluse	Graffito on late Campanian ware	c. late 1st century BC	SEG 53 2003 1151; BE 2005 627; CAG 84/1 183
86	Cimiez	Alpes-Maritimes	Graffito on <i>sigillata</i> cup	AD 60–160	SEG 56 2006 1167
87	Chevroches	Nièvre	Astrological inscription on sphere	AD 350–400	SEG 56 2006 1168
88	Martigues, Saint-Pierre	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffiti on ceramic	6th/5th century BC	Chausserie-Laprée 2005 238–239
89	Le Castellan	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito on ceramic	6th/5th century BC	Chausserie-Laprée 2005 239
90	Fos-sur-Mer	Bouches-du-Rhône	Graffito on Campanian A	2nd century?	Chausserie-Laprée 2005 52

Appendix 3 *Onomastica Glanicorum* (OG)

KEY: Abbrev. = abbreviated name, DN = deity name, Patron. = patronymic, PN = personal name.

Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
[...]ράτος?	<i>IGF</i> 51; Rolland 1958a 98, <i>CAG</i> 304	m	?	Celtic?	Reading not certain. Fragmentary. Cf. <i>IAG</i> 16, <i>CIL</i> 991	Stone altar	Basin of the <i>nymphaeum</i>	4487. L'angle S.E. de la crypte du monument XXXVI	Before mid 1st BC (use of Greek) (Roth Congès 1997 187)	
ΟΝΘΟΥΟΙ ΙΟ ΔΙΟΥΙ?	<i>IAG</i> 1, <i>RIG</i> 66; Rhys 1906 305–306									2nd/1st BC
ΥΡ- ΑΚΛ ΗΟΣ ΥΕΑ?	<i>IAG</i> 2, <i>RIG</i> 73; <i>CAG</i> 263, 265, Rhys 1906 306		PN? Probably funerary		Known only from a sketch	Stone stele	Mas de Durand			2nd/1st BC
Καμουλατι	<i>IAG</i> 3, <i>RIG</i> 67; <i>CAG</i> 377, De Brun 1932 138, 1935 251	f		Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 160–161, <i>KGN</i> 160–161	Reading not certain. Rest of inscription unclear	Stone altar	Reused in <i>tepidarium</i>	1175		2nd/1st BC
Ουτρονι	<i>IAG</i> 3, <i>RIG</i> 67; <i>CAG</i> 377, De Brun 1932 138, 1935 251	m	Patron.?	?	Reading not certain. Rest of inscription unclear	Stone altar	Reused in <i>tepidarium</i>	1175		2nd/1st BC

Ουριττακος	<i>IAG</i> 4, <i>RIG</i> 68; <i>CAG</i> 260–261, Brunel 1934–1935, De Brun 1930 44, Rhÿs 1906 304	m		Celtic	Geometric patterns	Stone stele	Quartier de la Galine (East), <i>Via Domitia</i>	M7	<i>c.</i> 125–25 BC
Ηλουσκονιος	<i>IAG</i> 4, <i>RIG</i> 68; <i>CAG</i> 260–261, Brunel 1934–1935, De Brun 1930 44, Rhÿs 1906 304	m	Patron.?	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 349	Geometric patterns	Stone stele	Quartier de la Galine (East), <i>Via Domitia</i>	M7	<i>c.</i> 125–25 BC
Βιμ(ι)μος / Βιλλιμος	<i>IAG</i> 5, <i>RIG</i> 69; <i>CAG</i> 261, De Brun 1930 44–45, Rhÿs 1906 304–305	m		Celtic? <i>GPN</i> 149–151, 310–311	Reading not certain	Stone stele	Mas de Bigot, quartier de la Galine	M5	<i>c.</i> 125–25 BC
Λιτουμαρεος	<i>IAG</i> 5, <i>RIG</i> 69; <i>CAG</i> 261, De Brun 1930 44–45, Rhÿs 1906 304–305	m	Patron.?	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 98, 217–218, 223–228, <i>KGPN</i> 232, 238		Stone stele	Mas de Bigot, quartier de la Galine	M5	<i>c.</i> 125–25 BC
Σιγο[τ]ο- υτιορειξ / Εινδο[]τιορειξ	<i>IAG</i> 6, <i>RIG</i> 70; <i>CAG</i> 255	m		Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 243–249, 111–112, <i>KGPN</i> 226, 260–261	Reading not certain. Geometric patterns, including a cross over the inscription	Stone stele	Pont de la Pistole (West), <i>Via Domitia</i>	M8	<i>c.</i> 125–25 BC

(*cont.*)

Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Εσκ[ε]γ- γορ[?]ουι	<i>IAG</i> 6, <i>RIG</i> 70; <i>CAG</i> 255	m	Patron.?	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 92–93, <i>KGPN</i> 212	Reading not certain. Geometric patterns, including a cross over the inscription	Stone stele	Pont de la Pistole (West), <i>Via Domitia</i>	M8	c. 125–25 BC	
Μεδουπειξ	<i>IAG</i> 7, <i>RIG</i> 71; <i>CAG</i> 262–263	m		Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 243–249, <i>KGPN</i> 240–242, 260–261	Fragmentary. Geometric patterns	Stone stele	Near Mas de Cloud	M2. Carrière de St. Paul	c. 125–25 BC	
Λι[του]- μαρεος	<i>IAG</i> 7, <i>RIG</i> 71; <i>CAG</i> 262–263	m	Patron.?	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 98, 217–218, 223–228, <i>KGPN</i> 232, 238	Fragmentary. Geometric patterns	Stone stele	Near Mas de Cloud	M2. Carrière de St. Paul	c. 125–25 BC	
Δι	<i>IAG</i> 8, <i>RIG</i> 75; <i>CAG</i> 273	m	Abbrev.?	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 193–194, <i>KGPN</i> 192–195		Aqueduct	Mas de Gros	1174. Chemin allant du cimetière des Juifs au vallon de Gros		2nd/1st BC

Ρικ	<i>IAG</i> 8, <i>RIG</i> 75; <i>CAG</i> 273	m	Abbrev.?	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 243–249, <i>KGPN</i> 258–261		Aqueduct	Mas de Gros	1174. Chemin allant du cimetière des Juifs au vallon de Gros	2nd/1st BC
Κορνηλία	<i>RIG</i> 65; Blétry 1998, <i>CAG</i> 342–343, Lejeune 1976–8, 1979, Rolland 1955, 1958a 54–55, 1960 84	f		Latin	ροκλοισιαβο βρατου δεκαντ	Stone altar	<i>Peribolos</i> of geminate temples	4241. Face S. de XXIII S. En calcaire local	2nd/1st BC
Τανκολατις	<i>RIG</i> 72; <i>CAG</i> 392	m		Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 261, 216, <i>KGPN</i> 275, 229–230	Fragmentary	Stone stele	East of Glanum, quartier de Romanin	4292. Romanin (champ d’aviation)	2nd/1st BC
Βοκ	<i>RIG</i> 72; <i>CAG</i> 392	?	Patron.?	Celtic? <i>GPN</i> 152–153, <i>KGPN</i> 152–153	Reading not certain. Fragmentary	Stone stele	East of Glanum, quartier de Romanin	4292. Romanin (champ d’aviation)	2nd/1st BC
Αδ	<i>RIG</i> 76; Lejeune 1981	?		Celtic? <i>GPN</i> 128–131, <i>KGPN</i> 111–117		Campanian ware	Glanum	6640. LVII le long de la canalisation pénétrant dans la cour à portiques	2nd/1st BC

(cont.)

Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
αλ[...	<i>RIG</i> 77; Lejeune 1981	?				Campanian ware	Glanum	6303. E10, p. au niveau de XXVII.B.	2nd/1st BC	
?	<i>RIG</i> 78; Lejeune 1981					Campanian ware	Glanum	684	2nd/1st BC	
Ατ1	<i>IAG</i> 83.1, <i>RIG</i> 79; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 142–145, <i>KGPN</i> 136–142		Campanian ware	Glanum	3236. Maison XII, N. E. des fondations de X	2nd/1st BC	
Β1	<i>IAG</i> 83.2, <i>RIG</i> 80; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic?; <i>GPN</i> 149–152, 310–314, <i>KGPN</i> 148–151	Fragmentary	Campanian ware	Glanum	687	2nd/1st BC	
Κα[.../ Κλ[...	<i>RIG</i> 81; Lejeune 1981	?		Celtic?	Fragmentary	Campanian ware	Glanum	3460	2nd/1st BC	
Κλ	<i>IAG</i> 83.7, <i>RIG</i> 82; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	?	Fragmentary	Campanian ware	Glanum	685	2nd/1st BC	
...]κοβ[...	<i>RIG</i> 83; Lejeune 1981	?		?	Fragmentary, B very unclear	Campanian ware	Glanum	6304. E10, p. au niveau de XXVII.B	2nd/1st BC	

Κρ	<i>RIG</i> 84; Lejeune 1981	?		?	Fragmentary, both letters uncertain	Campanian ware A	Glanum	5838	2nd/1st BC
...]κου	<i>IAG</i> 83.8, <i>RIG</i> 85; <i>CAG</i> 302, Lejeune 1981	?	Patron.? / abbrev.?	Celtic? <i>KGPN</i> 186	Fragmentary. Possibly a Greek genitive, or name in <i>Cu-</i>	Campanian ware C	Terraces	2396. Fouilles du témenos, 1933, angle S.O. de la grande terrasse, niveau inférieur	2nd/1st BC
Δαν	<i>RIG</i> 86; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic? <i>GPN</i> 189–190, <i>KGPN</i> 187–188		Campanian ware	Glanum	6305. E10 P. Niveau B de XXVII	2nd/1st BC
Δαν	<i>RIG</i> 87; <i>CAG</i> 326, Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic? <i>GPN</i> 189–190, <i>KGPN</i> 187–188	Same object as <i>RIG</i> 103, but different hand. Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 95	Campanian ware	South of platform	7016. Au niveau de XXVII B, sous la dalle d'angle S. O. de la plate-forme XXVII	2nd/1st BC
Εβουρος	<i>IAG</i> 82, <i>RIG</i> 88; Lejeune 1981 , <i>CAG</i> 261–262, De Brun 1930 33–37, 1932 139	m		Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 346–347, <i>KGPN</i> 202	Interior of vessel. Another inscription on exterior	Campanian ware A, cover of funerary urn	Tomb III, near Mas de Cloud, quartier de la Galine	M239	2nd/1st half 1st BC (Arcelin and Arcelin 1975 90). 180–75 BC (<i>CAG</i>)

(*cont.*)

Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Επτα	<i>IAG</i> 82, <i>RIG</i> 89; Lejeune 1981, <i>CAG</i> 261–262, De Brun 1930 33–37, 1932 139	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 88–90, <i>KGPN</i> 208–209	Exterior of vessel. Another inscription on interior. Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 1398	Campanian ware A, cover of funerary urn	Tomb III, near Mas de Cloud, quartier de la Galine	M239	2nd/1st half 1st BC (Arcelin and Arcelin 1975 90). 180–75 BC (<i>CAG</i>)	
Επτο	<i>RIG</i> 90; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 197–200, <i>KGPN</i> 209–210	Or DN? Probably same hand <i>RIG</i> 90–94. Cf. <i>RIG</i> 42 (Saint-Blaise)	Campanian ware	Glanum, near and to the west of circular monument	6725	2nd/1st BC. c. 100 BC (Lejeune 1981 120)	
Επτο	<i>RIG</i> 91; <i>CAG</i> 325, Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 197–200, <i>KGPN</i> 209–210	Or DN? Probably same hand <i>RIG</i> 90–94. Cf. <i>RIG</i> 42 (Saint-Blaise)	Campanian ware	Glanum, level III of LVII	6775	2nd/1st BC. c. 100 BC (Lejeune 1981 120)	
Επτο	<i>RIG</i> 92; <i>CAG</i> 325, Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 197–200, <i>KGPN</i> 209–210	Or DN? Probably same hand <i>RIG</i> 90–94. Series of Xs around the bowl. Cf. <i>RIG</i> 42 (Saint-Blaise)	Campanian ware A	Glanum, level III of LVII	6776	2nd/1st BC. c. 100 BC (Lejeune 1981 120)	

ΕΠΟ	Rolland 1958a 46, <i>RIG</i> 93; <i>CAG</i> 324, Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 197–200, <i>KGPN</i> 209–210	Or DN? Probably same hand <i>RIG</i> 90–94. Followed by geometric symbols or more letters? Cf. <i>RIG</i> 42 (Saint-Blaise)	Campanian ware	Glanum, level III of LVII	6778	2nd/1st BC. c. 100 BC (Lejeune 1981 120)
ΕΠΟ	<i>RIG</i> 94; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 197–200, <i>KGPN</i> 209–210	Or DN? Probably same hand <i>RIG</i> 90–94. Second graffiti α. Cf. <i>RIG</i> 42 (Saint-Blaise)	Campanian ware	Glanum, near paving of XXVII	7021. Près du puits dans le bassin N. des vestiges découverts sous le dallage de XXVII	2nd/1st BC. c. 100 BC (Lejeune 1981 120)
...]μΕ[...	<i>RIG</i> 95; Lejeune 1981	?		Celtic?	Fragmentary. Could be ...]κλΕ[...	Campanian ware	Glanum	3280. Sondage au-dessous du sol de XII, F.	2nd/1st BC
...]μΙ	<i>RIG</i> 96; <i>CAG</i> 323, Lejeune 1981	?			Fragmentary	Campanian ware	Glanum	4647. Sondage fondations de XXVIII	2nd/1st BC
ΠΟΥ[...	<i>IAG</i> 83.10, <i>RIG</i> 97; Lejeune 1981	?		Celtic? <i>GPN</i> 466–467, <i>KGPN</i> 262	Fragmentary	Campanian ware	Glanum	3095	2nd/1st BC

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G-CAG = CAG 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Σασ[. . .	<i>IAG</i> 83.3, <i>RIG</i> 98; Lejeune 1981	?	?	?	Fragmentary. Uncertain reading, originally read <i>CAL</i> . Mysterious marks. Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 152, 3509	Campanian ware	Glanum	683	2nd/1st BC	
ΣΜ / CM	<i>IAG</i> 83.4, <i>RIG</i> 99; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic? <i>KGPN</i> 269–270	Lunate sigma, could be Latin C	Campanian ware	Glanum	682	2nd/1st BC	
Σμερ	<i>IAG</i> 81, <i>RIG</i> 100; Lejeune 1981, CAG 258–259, De Brun 1930 38–40	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>KGPN</i> 269–270	Greek and Latin script on same object, though <i>IAG</i> reads <i>Su</i> as Λς (the number 36)	Campanian ware	Tomb V, quartier du Mortisson	M228	1st BC (Arcelin and Arcelin 1975 91). Last quarter of 2nd BC (CAG 259)	
Su	<i>IAG</i> 81, <i>RIG</i> 100; Lejeune 1981, CAG 258–259, De Brun 1930 38–40	?	Abbrev.	Celtic? <i>GPN</i> 257–258, <i>KGPN</i> 272–274. Could be Latin.	Greek and Latin script on same object, though <i>IAG</i> reads <i>Su</i> as Λς (the number 36)	Campanian ware	Tomb V, quartier du Mortisson	M228	1st BC (Arcelin and Arcelin 1975 91). Last quarter of 2nd BC (CAG 259)	

Σο	<i>IAG</i> 83.5, <i>RIG</i> 101; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic? <i>KGPN</i> 270–271		Campanian ware	Glanum	3108	2nd/1st BC
Σολι	<i>IAG</i> 83.6, <i>RIG</i> 102; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.?	Celtic? <i>KGPN</i> 270–271		Campanian ware	Glanum	688	2nd/1st BC
Av / Nu	<i>IAG</i> 83.9; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.?	?	Either Greek or Latin script	Campanian ware	Glanum	686	2nd/1st BC
Σολιτοο	<i>RIG</i> 103; <i>CAG</i> 326, Lejeune 1981	m		Celtic? <i>KGPN</i> 270–271. οο mistake for ος?	Same object as <i>RIG</i> 87, but different hand. Σο on the foot	Campanian ware	South of platform	7016. Au niveau de XXVIIIB, sous la dalle d’angle S. O. de la plate-forme XXVII	2nd/1st BC
Ουαρ[. . .	<i>RIG</i> 104; Lejeune 1981 , <i>CAG</i> 260	?		Celtic? Holder III 103 s.v. Not in <i>GPN</i> or <i>KGPN</i>	Fragmentary	Campanian ware C	Glanum, in tomb near tomb XI (Mortisson)	4299. Même provenance que le no. 4294 [quartier Mortisson] mais dans une autre tombe?	mid 1st BC (dating based on pottery, Arcelin and Arcelin 1975 79)

(*cont.*)

Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
οεπ // ορειξ	<i>RIG</i> 105; <i>CAG</i> 326–327, Lejeune 1981	m		Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 243–249, <i>KGPN</i> 290, 258–261. οε- for ουε- (for <i>Ve-</i>) is unusual. Cf. οε-[. . . (<i>RIG</i> 59, Saint-Blaise)	Split between two sides of the counter	Campanian ware counter	Under the platform	7041. Au nord de XXVIIb, dans le bassin sacré contenant le puits	2nd/1st BC	
Attia	<i>IAG</i> 11, <i>CIL</i> 994; <i>CAG</i> 397, De Brun 1935 254	f		Latin	<i>IOM</i>	Stone inscription	Glanum, provenance unknown			Likely AD
Sext(us)	<i>IAG</i> 12, <i>CIL</i> 995; <i>CAG</i> 256, De Brun 1935 254	m	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>IOM</i> . . . <i>voto dicavit</i> . No preposition (<i>ex</i>) with <i>voto</i>	Stone inscription, known from manuscript	?Val de Lavis			Likely AD
Iul(ius)	<i>IAG</i> 12, <i>CIL</i> 995; <i>CAG</i> 256, De Brun 1935 254	m	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>IOM</i> . . . <i>voto dicavit</i> . No preposition (<i>ex</i>) with <i>voto</i>	Stone inscription, known from manuscript	?Val de Lavis			Likely AD
Lutto	<i>IAG</i> 12, <i>CIL</i> 995; <i>CAG</i> 256, De Brun 1935 254	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Celtic?	<i>IOM</i> . . . <i>voto dicavit</i> . No preposition (<i>ex</i>) with <i>voto</i> . Uncertain reading, could be <i>Luito</i>	Stone inscription, known from manuscript	?Val de Lavis			Likely AD

L(ucius)	<i>IAG</i> 14.1; <i>CAG</i> 355, m Rolland 1960 94	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	(a)ed(ituus) dis omn(i)bus. Uncertain restorations. II for E. Cf. <i>CIL</i> VI 975	Stone pillar	Probably house VII	2719. Dans une des chambres de l'insula ouest de la rue des Thermes	3rd AD (letter forms)
C(ornelius)	<i>IAG</i> 14.1; <i>CAG</i> 355, m Rolland 1960 94	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	(a)ed(ituus) dis omn(i)bus. Uncertain restorations. II for E. Cf. <i>CIL</i> VI 975	Stone pillar	Probably house VII	2719. Dans une des chambres de l'insula ouest de la rue des Thermes	3rd AD (letter forms)
Viato[r]	<i>IAG</i> 14.1; <i>CAG</i> 355, m Rolland 1960 94	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	(a)ed(ituus) dis omn(i)bus. Uncertain restorations. II for E. Cf. <i>CIL</i> VI 975	Stone pillar	Probably house VII	2719. Dans une des chambres de l'insula ouest de la rue des Thermes	3rd AD (letter forms)
Sex(tus)	<i>IAG</i> 14.2; <i>CAG</i> 355, m De Brun 1941 51, Rolland 1960 94	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	missicius to Mars. Niches for offerings	Stone pillar	Probably house VII	2719. Dans une des chambres de l'insula ouest de la rue des Thermes	1st AD? (Rolland), 1st/2nd (<i>CAG</i> , style)
Tib(erius)	<i>IAG</i> 14.2; <i>CAG</i> 355, m De Brun 1941 51, Rolland 1960 94	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	missicius to Mars. Niches for offerings	Stone pillar	Probably house VII	2719. Dans une des chambres de l'insula ouest de la rue des Thermes	1st AD? (Rolland), 1st/2nd (<i>CAG</i> , style)

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Ver(na / us / inus / ecundus)	<i>IAG</i> 14.2; <i>CAG</i> 355, De Brun 1941 51, Rolland 1960 94	m	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>missicius</i> to Mars. Niches for offerings. Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 1054, 4535, 4874	Stone pillar	Probably house VII	2719. Dans une des chambres de l'insula ouest de la rue des Thermes	1st AD? (Rolland), 1st/2nd (<i>CAG</i> , style)	
Merc[...]	<i>IAG</i> 15; <i>CAG</i> 338, De Brun 1935 258	m		Latin	Might be a DN. <i>IAG</i> <i>VSML</i> . <i>CAG</i> <i>VSLM</i> . Reading is <i>VSML</i> . Indicates a poor competence in Latin epigraphy?	Stone altar	Near <i>curia</i>	1163. Monument à abside		
Sex(tus)	<i>IAG</i> 16, <i>CIL</i> 998; <i>CAG</i> 272, De Brun 1935 255	m	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Mas de Périat	M31	1st AD	
Valeri[us]	<i>IAG</i> 16, <i>CIL</i> 998; <i>CAG</i> 272, De Brun 1935 255	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Mas de Périat	M31	1st AD	
Lutevi	<i>IAG</i> 16, <i>CIL</i> 998; <i>CAG</i> 272, De Brun 1935 255	m	Patron. <i>f(ilius). Tria nomina</i>	Celtic?	<i>VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Mas de Périat	M31	1st AD	

Samicu[s]	<i>IAG</i> 16, <i>CIL</i> 998; <i>CAG</i> 272, De Brun 1935 255	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 252–253, <i>KGPN</i> 264–265	<i>VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Mas de Périat	M31	1st AD	
Loreia	<i>IAG</i> 18; Blétry 1998, De Brun 1941 55, <i>CAG</i> 354, Rolland 1960 83	f		Latin	<i>Auribus . . . pia ministra</i>	Stone altar	House VII west of the rue des Thermes	2852	1st/2nd AD (<i>CAG</i>), 1st AD (Rolland 1946 98), 1st/2nd AD (Rolland 1960 83)	
Attia	<i>IAG</i> 19; <i>CAG</i> 354–355, De Brun 1941 56, 57	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>domnae ministra posuit</i>	Stone altar	House VII west of the rue des Thermes	2853		Likely AD
Musa	<i>IAG</i> 19; <i>CAG</i> 354–355, De Brun 1941 56, 57	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>domnae ministra posuit</i>	Stone altar	House VII west of the rue des Thermes	2853		Likely AD
Vinicia	<i>IAG</i> 20; <i>CAG</i> 355, De Brun 1941 56	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Bon(a)e Dea(e)</i> . Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 2733, 2735 etc.	Base of a tripod	House VII west of the rue des Thermes	2854	3rd AD (letter forms)	
Eutychia	<i>IAG</i> 20; <i>CAG</i> 355, De Brun 1941 56	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Greek	<i>Bon(a)e Dea(e)</i>	Base of a tripod	House VII west of the rue des Thermes	2854	3rd AD (letter forms)	

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Carsiaudia	<i>IAG</i> 22, <i>CIL</i> 993; <i>CAG</i> 397, De Brun 1935 262	f		Greek? Καρσί- δαυα Ptol. 3.8.6	<i>B(ona)</i> <i>F(ortunae)</i> <i>voto</i> . No preposition (<i>ex</i>) with <i>voto</i> . Cf <i>CIL</i> XII 679	Lost	Glanum, provenance unknown			
Optata	<i>IAG</i> 23; <i>CAG</i> 355–356, De Brun 1941 61	f		Latin	<i>Opibus</i> . . . <i>VSLM</i> . Altar in the form of a column (Tuscan order)	Stone altar	Area near house VIII and VII	1191		
D(ecimus)	<i>IAG</i> 25, <i>CIL</i> 1003; <i>CAG</i> 397, De Brun 1935 257, Turcan 1972 29	m	<i>Tria nomina?</i>	Latin	<i>D(ecimus)</i> A?? <i>D(ecimus)</i> rare in Narbonensis	Stone stele	Une bastide du terroir de Saint-Rémy			Likely AD
Eudaem[on]	<i>IAG</i> 25, <i>CIL</i> 1003; <i>CAG</i> 397, De Brun 1935 257, Turcan 1972 29	m	<i>Tria nomina?</i>	Greek	Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 2258	Stone stele	Une bastide du terroir de Saint-Rémy			Likely AD
Attia	<i>IAG</i> 26, <i>CIL</i> 997; <i>CAG</i> 397, De Brun 1935 257	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Lunae</i> <i>Luciferae</i>	Stone stele	Glanum, provenance unknown			Likely AD

Anto[nia?	<i>IAG</i> 26, <i>CIL</i> 997; <i>CAG</i> 397, De Brun 1935 257	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin. <i>IAG</i> : <i>An(a)tol(a)</i>	<i>Lunae Luciferae.</i> Restoration may be incorrect	Stone stele	Glanum, provenance unknown			Likely AD
Con[st]antius	<i>IAG</i> 27, <i>CIL</i> 333; <i>CAG</i> 207, De Brun 1935 258	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Terrae Tellurae.</i> <i>VP posuit.</i> Fake? Cf. <i>Tellurus</i> in Martianus Capella	Stone altar	Crau de Mollégès	M34	Dating difficult	<i>De Brun AD 200</i>
Patrici[us]	<i>IAG</i> 27, <i>CIL</i> 333; <i>CAG</i> 207, De Brun 1935 258	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Terrae Tellurae.</i> <i>VP posuit.</i> Fake? Cf. <i>Tellurus</i> in Martianus Capella	Stone altar	Crau de Mollégès	M34	Dating difficult	<i>De Brun AD 200</i>
L(ucius)	<i>IAG</i> 29, <i>CIL</i> 1002; <i>CAG</i> 397–398, De Brun 1935 260	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Silvano . . . VSLM pro Amerimno lib</i>	Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	M36		Likely AD
Vibius	<i>IAG</i> 29, <i>CIL</i> 1002; <i>CAG</i> 397–398, De Brun 1935 260	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Silvano . . . VSLM pro Amerimno lib</i>	Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	M36		Likely AD
Montanus	<i>IAG</i> 29, <i>CIL</i> 1002; <i>CAG</i> 397–398, De Brun 1935 260	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Silvano . . . VSLM pro Amerimno lib</i>	Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	M36		Likely AD

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG I G-CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Amerimno	<i>IAG</i> 29, <i>CIL</i> 1002; <i>CAG</i> 397–398, De Brun 1935 260	m		? <i>Amerinus</i> (Umbria); Latin	<i>Silvano</i> . . . <i>VSLM pro Amerimno lib</i>	Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	M36		Likely AD
L(ucius)	<i>IAG</i> 30; <i>CAG</i> 337–338, De Brun 1935 258	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	Rolland: <i>L(ucius) Vale(rius) [ex] / voco. CAG: e[x] / uoco?. ?QUOCO / ?QUOLO</i> . De Brun suggests that the problematic ‘Q’ may be a mallet	Stone altar	Near <i>curia</i>	1148		
Vale[r]i[us]	<i>IAG</i> 30; <i>CAG</i> 337–338, De Brun 1935 258	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	Rolland: <i>L(ucius) Vale(rius) [ex] / voco. CAG: e[x] / uoco?. ?QUOCO / ?QUOLO</i> . De Brun suggests that the problematic ‘Q’ may be a mallet	Stone altar	Near <i>curia</i>	1148		
Silanus	<i>IAG</i> 31; <i>CAG</i> 338, De Brun 1935 258	m	? <i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	. . .] <i>us</i> precedes. <i>Silvan[o] . . .]voto</i> . Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 3543. <i>IAG</i> 41	Stone altar	Near <i>curia</i>	1162		

T(itus) C S	IAG 32; CAG 397	m	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>		<i>Silvano VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Probably discovered at Glanum, transported to Mas Turrier	M9	Likely AD
G I S	IAG 33; CAG 397	m	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>		<i>Silvano VOS</i>	Stone altar	Probably discovered at Glanum, transported to Mas Turrier	M10	Likely AD
Q(uintus)	IAG 33a; CAG 394–395	m	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Silvano VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	Retrouvé en 1944, dans la chapelle Saint-Bonnet de Lagoy	Likely AD
Iul(ius)	IAG 33a; CAG 394–395	m	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Silvano VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	Retrouvé en 1944, dans la chapelle Saint-Bonnet de Lagoy	Likely AD
Si..ia . . .	IAG 33a; CAG 394–395	m	Abbrev. <i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin?	<i>Silvano VSLM</i> . Could be name such as <i>Silvanus</i> ? Cf. IAG 31	Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	Retrouvé en 1944, dans la chapelle Saint-Bonnet de Lagoy	Likely AD

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Λ Λ Λ	<i>IAG</i> 34 <i>CIL</i> 1000; <i>CAG</i> 380, De Brun 1935 260		<i>Tria nomina?</i>		<i>Silvano VSLM</i>	Stone cippus	Road between quarry Pilier and <i>Via Domitia</i>	M35. Ancienne carrière au pilier debout		Likely AD
Caec[.]us	<i>IAG</i> 39; <i>CAG</i> 377, De Brun 1935 263	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Abiano VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Reused in baths	1179	?3rd AD	
Firmus	<i>IAG</i> 39; <i>CAG</i> 377, De Brun 1935 263	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Abiano VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Reused in baths	1179	?3rd AD	
Silanus	<i>IAG</i> 41; <i>CAG</i> 396, De Brun 1941 60	m		Latin	<i>Meldio</i> VS. <i>IAG</i> 31	Stone altar	Saint-Rémy, quartier de la Combette	1107		
Lutevi	<i>IAG</i> 41; <i>CAG</i> 396, De Brun 1941 60	m	Patron. <i>f(ilius)</i>	Celtic?	<i>Meldio</i> VS. <i>IAG</i> 31	Stone altar	Saint-Rémy, quartier de la Combette	1107		
Prima	<i>IAG</i> 45; <i>CAG</i> 395	f		Latin	<i>VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Provenance unknown	Au château de Lagoy		
Pilemae	<i>IAG</i> 45; <i>CAG</i> 395	f	Matronymic. <i>f(ilia)</i>	Greek. First time in <i>Narbonensis</i> without aspiration	<i>VSLM</i> . Cf. <i>CIL</i> X 2029, 4110	Stone altar	Provenance unknown	Au château de Lagoy		
Sev(erus/a)	<i>IAG</i> 46; <i>CAG</i> 359, De Brun 1941 50			Latin	<i>VSLM</i>	Stone altar	House V	1108		

Sex(tus)	<i>IAG 50, CIL 1012; CAG 284</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Parentibus sueis. EI for I</i>	Mausoleum	Les Antiques	M32	30–20 BC	
L(ucius)	<i>IAG 50, CIL 1012; CAG 284</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Parentibus sueis. EI for I</i>	Mausoleum	Les Antiques	M32	30–20 BC	
M(arcus)	<i>IAG 50, CIL 1012; CAG 284</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Parentibus sueis. EI for I</i>	Mausoleum	Les Antiques	M32	30–20 BC	
Iuliei	<i>IAG 50, CIL 1012; CAG 284</i>	m	Plural <i>gentilicium</i>	Latin	<i>Parentibus sueis. EI for I</i>	Mausoleum	Les Antiques	M32	30–20 BC	
C(aii)	<i>IAG 50, CIL 1012; CAG 284</i>	m	Patron. <i>f(ili)</i>	Latin	<i>Parentibus sueis. EI for I</i>	Mausoleum	Les Antiques	M32	30–20 BC	
Acilia	<i>IAG 51, CIL 1006; CAG 255</i>	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM conliberto bene merit{i}o. Cf. CIL XII 3365, 3904</i>	Funerary inscription	Private garden, Saint-Rémy (found alongside ancient route)	Nîmes		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Charile	<i>IAG 51, CIL 1006; CAG 255</i>	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Greek?	<i>DM conliberto bene merit{i}o</i>	Funerary inscription	Private garden, Saint-Rémy (found alongside ancient route)	Nîmes		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Acilio	<i>IAG 51, CIL 1006; CAG 255</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM conliberto bene merit{i}o. Cf. CIL XII 3365, 3904</i>	Funerary inscription	Private garden, Saint-Rémy (found alongside ancient route)	Nîmes		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Elpideforo	<i>IAG</i> 51, <i>CIL</i> 1006; <i>CAG</i> 255	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Greek	<i>DM conliberto bene merit{i}o</i>	Funerary inscription	Private garden, Saint-Rémy (found alongside ancient route)	Nîmes		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
[A]ebutī	<i>IAG</i> 52, <i>CIL</i> 1005; Rolland 1960 56, <i>CAG</i> 256–257, 267, Carroll 2006 146	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>[me]mori(a)e aeterna[e] . . . curator[i] peculi r(ei) p(ublica)e Glanico(rum)</i> . Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 4737 etc.	Stone cippus	Ruins of chapel of Saint-Trophime	M22	Not before middle of 2nd AD (CAG)	
Agathon[is]	<i>IAG</i> 52, <i>CIL</i> 1005; Rolland 1960 56, <i>CAG</i> 256–257, 267, Carroll 2006 146	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Greek	<i>[me]mori(a)e aeterna[e] . . . curator[i] peculi r(ei) p(ublica)e Glanico(rum)</i>	Stone cippus	Ruins of chapel of Saint-Trophime	M22	Not before middle of 2nd AD (CAG)	
Aebutia	<i>IAG</i> 52, <i>CIL</i> 1005; Rolland 1960 56, <i>CAG</i> 256–257, 267, Carroll 2006 146	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>[me]mori(a)e aeterna[e] . . . curator[i] peculi r(ei) p(ublica)e Glanico(rum)</i> . Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 4737 etc.	Stone cippus	Ruins of chapel of Saint-Trophime	M22	Not before middle of 2nd AD (CAG)	

Eutychia	<i>IAG</i> 52, <i>CIL</i> 1005; Rolland 1960 56, <i>CAG</i> 256–257, 267, Carroll 2006 146	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Greek	<i>[me]mori(a)e aeterna[e] . . . curator[i] peculi r(ei) p(ublica)e Glanico(rum)</i>	Stone cippus	Ruins of chapel of Saint-Trophime	M22	Not before middle of 2nd AD (<i>CAG</i>)
Aur(elii)	<i>IAG</i> 54, <i>CIL</i> 1008; <i>CAG</i> 395	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>memoriae . . .</i>	Stone cippus	Chapelle de Saint-Bonnet		3rd AD
Grati	<i>IAG</i> 54, <i>CIL</i> 1008; <i>CAG</i> 395	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>memoriae . . .</i>	Stone cippus	Chapelle de Saint-Bonnet		3rd AD
Decciae	<i>IAG</i> 55, <i>CIL</i> 1010; <i>CAG</i> 257	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM. Ascia decoration</i>	Stone cippus	Château de Roussan	M27	Ascia from 2nd AD (Carroll 2006 81)
Cratillae	<i>IAG</i> 55, <i>CIL</i> 1010; <i>CAG</i> 257	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Greek?	<i>DM. Ascia decoration</i>	Stone cippus	Château de Roussan	M27	Ascia from 2nd AD (Carroll 2006 81)
Quartina	<i>IAG</i> 55, <i>CIL</i> 1010; <i>CAG</i> 257	f		Latin	<i>filia. DM. Ascia decoration</i>	Stone cippus	Château de Roussan	M27	Ascia from 2nd AD (Carroll 2006 81)
C(aius)	<i>IAG</i> 55, <i>CIL</i> 1010; <i>CAG</i> 257	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM. Ascia decoration</i>	Stone cippus	Château de Roussan	M27	Ascia from 2nd AD (Carroll 2006 81)

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Primus	<i>IAG</i> 55, <i>CIL</i> 1010; <i>CAG</i> 257	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM</i> . Ascia decoration	Stone cippus	Château de Roussan	M27		Ascia from 2nd AD (Carroll 2006 81)
Q(uinto)	<i>IAG</i> 56, <i>CIL</i> 1011; <i>CAG</i> 272	m	<i>Tria nomina</i> + second <i>cognomen</i>	Latin	<i>DM</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Périat	M30		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Frontonio	<i>IAG</i> 56, <i>CIL</i> 1011; <i>CAG</i> 272	m	<i>Tria nomina</i> + second <i>cognomen</i>	Latin	<i>DM</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Périat	M30		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Ianuario	<i>IAG</i> 56, <i>CIL</i> 1011; <i>CAG</i> 272	m	<i>Tria nomina</i> + second <i>cognomen</i>	Latin	<i>DM</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Périat	M30		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Nasoni	<i>IAG</i> 56, <i>CIL</i> 1011; <i>CAG</i> 272	m	Second <i>cognomen</i>	Latin	<i>DM</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Périat	M30		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Maticia	<i>IAG</i> 56, <i>CIL</i> 1011; <i>CAG</i> 272	f		Celtic? <i>GPN</i> 228–232, <i>KGPN</i> 239–240. Could be Latin.	<i>DM</i> . <i>CIL</i> XI 1147, XII 200, <i>RIG</i> 151	Stone cippus	Mas de Périat	M30		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD

C(aius)	<i>IAG 57, CIL 1013; CAG 398</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>C(ai) l(ibertus) ... sibi... colliber(tae)</i>		Glanum, provenance unknown	Likely AD
Licinius	<i>IAG 57, CIL 1013; CAG 398</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>C(ai) l(ibertus) ... sibi... colliber(tae)</i>		Glanum, provenance unknown	Likely AD
C(ai)	<i>IAG 57, CIL 1013; CAG 398</i>	m	<i>L(ibertus)</i>	Latin	<i>C(ai) l(ibertus) ... sibi... colliber(tae)</i>		Glanum, provenance unknown	Likely AD
Nothus	<i>IAG 57, CIL 1013; CAG 398</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Greek	<i>C(ai) l(ibertus) ... sibi... colliber(tae)</i>		Glanum, provenance unknown	Likely AD
Licinae	<i>IAG 57, CIL 1013; CAG 398</i>	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>C(ai) l(ibertus) ... sibi... colliber(tae)</i>		Glanum, provenance unknown	Likely AD
Auge	<i>IAG 57, CIL 1013; CAG 398</i>	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Greek, though <i>IAG</i> suggests <i>Aug(usta)e</i>	<i>C(ai) l(ibertus) ... sibi... colliber(tae)</i>		Glanum, provenance unknown	Likely AD
Matislius	<i>IAG 58, CIL 1007; CAG 398</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 228–232, <i>KGPN</i> 239–240	<i>sibi et suis</i>	Funerary inscription	Glanum, provenance unknown	Likely AD
Maxsumus	<i>IAG 58, CIL 1007; CAG 398</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>sibi et suis</i>	Funerary inscription	Glanum, provenance unknown	Likely AD

(*cont.*)

Personal name	Reference <i>RIG = RIG I G-CAG = CAG 13/2</i>	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
L(ucio)	<i>IAG 59, CIL 1014; CAG 272</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>[D]M</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Périat	M23		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Nasonio	<i>IAG 59, CIL 1014; CAG 272</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>[D]M</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Périat	M23		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Primitivo	<i>IAG 59, CIL 1014; CAG 272</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>[D]M</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Périat	M23		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Mar(cia)	<i>IAG 59, CIL 1014; CAG 272</i>	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>[D]M</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Périat	M23		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Lamyra	<i>IAG 59, CIL 1014; CAG 272</i>	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin? (Vergil 9.334)	<i>[D]M</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Périat	M23		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
[P]omp[ei]ae	<i>IAG 60, CIL 1015; CAG 257</i>	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM</i>		Near the chapel of Saint-Trophime			Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD

Nymphae	<i>IAG 60, CIL 1015; CAG 257</i>	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Greek	<i>DM</i>		Near the chapel of Saint-Trophime			Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Cabi[...]mae?	<i>IAG 60, CIL 1015; CAG 257</i>	f		?	<i>DM. Could also be restored as car[issi]mae (IAG), CAG and CIL prefer a single name</i>		Near the chapel of Saint-Trophime			Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Ca[ius]	<i>IAG 61</i>	m	?	Latin	Restoration not secure. <i>D(iis) [Manibus]</i>	Stone table	Mas de Préville	M21	1st AD	
Qui[ntus]	<i>IAG 61</i>	m	?	Latin	<i>D(iis) [Manibus]</i>	Stone table	Mas de Préville	M21	1st AD	
C(aius)	<i>IAG 61</i>	m	?	Latin	<i>D(iis) [Manibus]</i>	Stone table	Mas de Préville	M21	1st AD	
Secundi[nus]	<i>IAG 61</i>	m	?	Latin	<i>D(iis) [Manibus]</i>	Stone table	Mas de Préville	M21	1st AD	
Iulianus	<i>IAG 61</i>	m	?	Latin	<i>D(iis) [Manibus]</i>	Stone table	Mas de Préville	M21	1st AD	
Atio	<i>IAG 62, CIL 1016; CAG 257</i>	m		Latin	Fragmentary		Roussan			
Solimuti	<i>IAG 62, CIL 1016; CAG 257</i>	m	Patron. <i>f(ilio)</i>	Celtic	Fragmentary		Roussan			

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
C(aio)	<i>IAG</i> 62, <i>CIL</i> 1016; <i>CAG</i> 257	m	<i>Duo nomina?</i>	Latin	Fragmentary		Roussan			
I[ulius]	<i>IAG</i> 62, <i>CIL</i> 1016; <i>CAG</i> 257	m	<i>Duo nomina?</i>	Latin	Fragmentary. Restoration not secure		Roussan			
M(arcus)	<i>IAG</i> 63, <i>CIL</i> 1017	m	?	Latin	Fragmentary. <i>f(ilius)</i>	Marble (rare) dedication	Chapelle de Saint-Bonnet (in the wall)			
Tre[...]	<i>IAG</i> 63, <i>CIL</i> 1017	m	?		Fragmentary. <i>f(ilius)</i>	Marble (rare) dedication	Chapelle de Saint-Bonnet (in the wall)			
Maxi[...]	<i>IAG</i> 63, <i>CIL</i> 1017	m	?	Latin	Fragmentary. <i>f(ilius)</i>	Marble (rare) dedication	Chapelle de Saint-Bonnet (in the wall)			
Hilar ?	<i>IAG</i> 63, <i>CIL</i> 1017	m	?	Latin	Fragmentary. <i>f(ilius)</i>	Marble (rare) dedication	Chapelle de Saint-Bonnet (in the wall)			
L(ucius)	<i>IAG</i> 64, <i>CIL</i> 1018; <i>CAG</i> 275	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>uxsori</i> (XS for X)	Stone cippus	Les Antiques	M28. Était encastree dans le mur d'une maison sur la route des antiques avant la villa Glanum	1st AD	

Valerius	<i>IAG 64, CIL 1018; CAG 275</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>uxsori</i> (XS for X)	Stone cippus	Les Antiques	M28. Était encastrée dans le mur d'une maison sur la route des antiques avant la villa Glanum	1st AD
Quartae	<i>IAG 64, CIL 1018; CAG 275</i>	f		Latin	<i>uxsori</i> (XS for X). Common, see Rémy 1984 131 note 54	Stone cippus	Les Antiques	M28. Était encastrée dans le mur d'une maison sur la route des antiques avant la villa Glanum	1st AD
Q(uintus)	<i>IAG 65, CIL 1019; CAG 398</i>	m	Used as idionym?	Latin			Glanum, provenance unknown		
Verati	<i>IAG 65, CIL 1019; CAG 398</i>	m	Patron. <i>fil(ius)</i>	Latin			Glanum, provenance unknown		
Valeria	<i>IAG 65, CIL 1019; CAG 398</i>	f		Latin			Glanum, provenance unknown		
L(ucii)	<i>IAG 65, CIL 1019; CAG 398</i>	m	<i>L(iberta)</i>	Latin			Glanum, provenance unknown		

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG = RIG I G-CAG = CAG 13/2</i>	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
T(ito)	<i>IAG 66, CIL 1020; CAG 255–256</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Véran	M20		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Vibio	<i>IAG 66, CIL 1020; CAG 255–256</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Véran	M20		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Secundino	<i>IAG 66, CIL 1020; CAG 255–256</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Véran	M20		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Titus	<i>IAG 66, CIL 1020; CAG 255–256</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM. fil(ius)</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Véran	M20		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Vibius	<i>IAG 66, CIL 1020; CAG 255–256</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM. fil(ius)</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Véran	M20		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD
Valerius	<i>IAG 66, CIL 1020; CAG 255–256</i>	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>DM. fil(ius)</i>	Stone cippus	Mas de Véran	M20		Flavian onwards, principally in 2nd AD

M(arcus)	<i>IAG 67a; CAG 350</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	Inscription may continue on another brick	Stone brick	Eastern wall of the sewer of the rue des Thermes	3313	
Titus	<i>IAG 67a; CAG 350</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	Inscription may continue on another brick	Stone brick	Eastern wall of the sewer of the rue des Thermes	3313	
Co(rnelii)	<i>IAG 72; CAG 366,</i> Carcopino 1949 , Rolland 1958a 54–55, 120–125, 1960 32–33	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin		Mosaic	<i>Tablinum</i> of house XII		?32 BC
Sullae	<i>IAG 72; CAG 366,</i> Carcopino 1949 , Rolland 1958a 54–55, 120–125, 1960 32–33	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin		Mosaic	<i>Tablinum</i> of house XII		?32 BC
L(ucii)	<i>IAG 76</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	First 4 lines lost. Letters in black paint	Amphora	Dump near Saint-Paul		
Anni(i)	<i>IAG 76</i>	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	First 4 lines lost. Letters in black paint	Amphora	Dump near Saint-Paul		
Maxu[mus]	<i>IAG 78; CAG 365</i>	m		Latin		Plaster	Maison XII, ruins of <i>atrium</i>	129	1st BC

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G-CAG = CAG 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Teucer	<i>IAG</i> 79; CAG 365–366, Carcopino 1949, Rolland 1958a 54–55, 120–125, 1960 32–33	m			<i>hic fuit a(nte) d(iem) IV K(alendas) Apri(les) Cn(aeo) Domitio C(aio) Sossio. II for E. CIL XII 4523, 4690, 5020</i>	Plaster	Maison XII, ruins of <i>atrium</i>	130	32 BC. Rolland's 96 BC is erroneous (<i>IAG</i>)	
Cu	<i>IAG</i> 83.11		Abbrev.			Campanian ware. Reports say on marble	Glanum	?	2nd/1st BC	
Pr	<i>IAG</i> 83.12		Abbrev.			Campanian ware. Reports say on marble		?		
Lae	<i>IAG</i> 84; CAG 302		Abbrev.			Amphora (funerary use)	Terraces	2229. Site de la route de Maussane		
Nasia	<i>IAG</i> 85.2	f		Latin		Fragment of bowl		3114		
?	<i>IAG</i> 86	f			II for E	Italic <i>terra sigillata</i>	Ancien fonds	695	Vase dates from c. AD 15/20 at latest	

Tatiois	IAG 87	f		Greek? οἰς feminine ending?		Italic <i>terra sigillata</i>	Ancien fonds		Vase dates from c. AD 15 at latest
C. M. C.	IAG 88.1		<i>Tria nomina</i>			Red pottery	Glanum	708	1st/2nd AD
Dom	IAG 88.2			Latin		Red pottery	Glanum	678	1st/2nd AD
M(arcus)	IAG 88.3	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin		Red pottery	Glanum	711	1st/2nd AD
Fur(ius)	IAG 88.3	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin		Red pottery	Glanum	711	1st/2nd AD
Ca[. . .]	IAG 88.3	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>			Red pottery	Glanum	711	1st/2nd AD
F[. . .]tek	IAG 88.4		?		II for E	Red pottery	Glanum		1st/2nd AD
M [.]	IAG 88.5		?			Red pottery	Glanum	707	1st/2nd AD
Maxsum(us)	IAG 88.5			Latin		Red pottery	Glanum	707	1st/2nd AD
Quart[ae]	IAG 88.6	f		Latin	Cf. IAG 64	Italic <i>terra sigillata</i>	Ancien fonds	709	Vase dates from c. AD 15/20 at latest
Sta	IAG 88.7		?	Latin/Greek/ Celtic		Red pottery	Glanum		1st/2nd AD
Ver	IAG 88.8			Latin/Celtic	II for E	Red pottery	Glanum		1st/2nd AD
Alex	IAG 88.9			Greek	II for E	Red pottery	Glanum	1622	1st/2nd AD
Vil	IAG 88.11			Latin/Celtic, probably Latin		Red pottery	Glanum	693	1st/2nd AD
Vic	IAG 89			Latin	Not necessarily a PN	Bone	Glanum	1509	

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Martial(is)	<i>IAG</i> 92.1; Agusta-Boularot and Paillet 1997a 17	m		Latin	<i>fec(it). L. R. Martialis</i> at Vienne, similar piping at Vienne and Glanum	Piping	Piping to baths	2491	1st AD–	
Titi	<i>IAG</i> 92.2; Agusta-Boularot and Paillet 1997a 17	m	Patron. <i>f(i)lius</i>	Latin	<i>f(ecit). L. R. Martialis</i> at Vienne, similar piping at Vienne and Glanum	Piping	Piping to baths	2622–2627	1st AD–	
Mart(ialis)	<i>IAG</i> 92.2; Agusta-Boularot and Paillet 1997a 17	m		Latin	<i>f(ecit). L. R. Martialis</i> at Vienne, similar piping at Vienne and Glanum	Piping	Piping to baths	2622–2627	1st AD–	
T(itus)	<i>IAG</i> 93; <i>CAG</i> 400	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin		Bronze stamp	Glanum, provenance unknown	1105		
Allon(ius)	<i>IAG</i> 93; <i>CAG</i> 400	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 132–134, <i>KGPN</i> 121–122		Bronze stamp	Glanum, provenance unknown	1105		

Primi	IAG 93; CAG 400	m	Patron. <i>f(i)lius</i>	Latin		Bronze stamp	Glanum, provenance unknown	1105	
[F]ronto	Rolland 1958a 21; CAG 336	m	?	Latin	... <i>RUM</i> ... <i>RONTO</i>	White marble plaque	XXII, west portico	3491. Sol du Forum, dallage devant monument à abside, le long de la rigole Ouest de XXII	
...]illion[...	Rolland 1958a 21; CAG 336	m	?		? <i>Virillio</i> . Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 3040, 3478, 3935, 4025	Grey marble plaque	XXII, west portico	3566 and 3566bis	
Sex / Sev	Rolland 1958a 51; CAG 342	m	?	Latin	O (<i>hedera</i>) ...	Grey marble frag- ment	Outside the southern branch of the <i>peribolos</i> of the geminate temples	4235. Face Sud de XXIII (S)	Bonne forme, Ier siècle
Duvia	Rolland 1958a 51; CAG 342	f		Latin	... <i>V.S.L.M.PN</i> <i>SVO. ?FN / FI /</i> <i>PN / PI</i>	Small votive altar	Outside the southern branch of the <i>peribolos</i> of the geminate temples	4236. Face Sud de XXIII (S)	

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
[P]eregri[na]	Rolland 1958a 51; <i>CAG</i> 342	f		Latin	. . . <i>Iunonibus</i> <i>V.S.L.M.</i> Feminine because of <i>Iunonibus</i> , legitimate? Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 5800, 3897, 5935, 4904	Stone altar	Outside the southern branch of the <i>peribolos</i> of the geminate temples	4238. Face S. du mur de XXIII, S.		
Venustus	Rolland 1958a 59; <i>CAG</i> 321	m		Latin	Signature? II for E	On wall under designs	Junction of eastern and southern walls of <i>exedra</i>		1st BC (Rolland 1958a 59)	
T(itus)	Rolland 1958a 74; <i>CAG</i> 319	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>numini Silvani sancto</i> . . . <i>VSLM</i>	Votive altar	In front of monument XXXIV	4307. Dans les déblais en avant de XXXIV, sur l'égout. Calcaire local	Not datable (Cibu 2003 344)	Likely AD
Quadri[vius]	Rolland 1958a 74; <i>CAG</i> 319	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin. Or restore <i>Quadrinius?</i> (<i>CAG</i>)	<i>numini Silvani sancto</i> . . . <i>VSLM</i>	Votive altar	In front of monument XXXIV	4307. Dans les déblais en avant de XXXIV, sur l'égout. Calcaire local	Not datable (Cibu 2003 344)	Likely AD

Valerianus	Rolland 1958a 74; CAG 319	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>numini Silvani sancto . . . VSLM</i>	Votive altar	In front of monument XXXIV	4307. Dans les déblais en avant de XXXIV, sur l'égout. Calcaire local	Not datable (Cibu 2003 344)	Likely AD
M(arcus)	Rolland 1958a 88; CAG 296–297	m	<i>Tria nomina + tribus</i>	Latin	<i>Glani et Glanicabus et Fortunae Reduci . . . leg XXI Rapacis VSLM. Cf. CIL XIII 6949, 8649, XII 671, 1357, 1863, 266</i>	Stone altar	Sacred road, left of niche with fragments of female statues	4407	Mid 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 89)	
L<i>cinus	Rolland 1958a 88; CAG 296–297	m	<i>Tria nomina + tribus</i>	Latin. <i>LLCINIUS</i> error	<i>Glani et Glanicabus et Fortunae Reduci . . . leg XXI Rapacis VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Sacred road, left of niche with fragments of female statues	4407	Mid 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 89)	
Verecundu(s)	Rolland 1958a 88; CAG 296–297	m	<i>Tria nomina + tribus</i>	Latin	<i>Glani et Glanicabus et Fortunae Reduci . . . leg XXI Rapacis VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Sacred road, left of niche with fragments of female statues	4407	Mid 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 89)	
[M]artiali	Rolland 1958a 97; CAG 304	m	?	Latin	Fragmentary	Altar	Water of <i>nymphaeum</i>	4486. L'angle S.E. de la crypte du monument XXXVI		

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Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
G(aii)	Rolland 1958a 110; <i>AE</i> 1999 1022, <i>CAG</i> 307–308, Le Bohec 1999, Christol 2001b, Pflaum 1978 230–231	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	Tribune. Long military inscription	Statue base	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4424. Fanum d’Hercule en face de l’escal. du temenos	Beginning 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 111). Late 2nd AD (Le Bohec 1999)	
Licin(ii)	Rolland 1958a 110; <i>AE</i> 1999 1022, <i>CAG</i> 307–308, Le Bohec 1999, Christol 2001b, Pflaum 1978 230–231	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	Tribune. Long military inscription	Statue base	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4424. Fanum d’Hercule en face de l’escal. du temenos	Beginning 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 111). Late 2nd AD (Le Bohec 1999)	
Macri	Rolland 1958a 110; <i>AE</i> 1999 1022, <i>CAG</i> 307–308, Le Bohec 1999, Christol 2001b, Pflaum 1978 230–231	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	Tribune. Long military inscription	Statue base	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4424. Fanum d’Hercule en face de l’escal. du temenos	Beginning 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 111). Late 2nd AD (Le Bohec 1999)	
C(naeus)	Rolland 1958a 110; <i>AE</i> 1999 1022, <i>CAG</i> 307–308, Le Bohec 1999, Christol 2001b, Pflaum 1978 230–231	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Optio</i> . Long military inscription	Statue base	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4424. Fanum d’Hercule en face de l’escal. du temenos	Beginning 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 111). Late 2nd AD (Le Bohec 1999)	

Pomp(eius)	Rolland 1958a 110; AE 1999 1022, CAG 307–308, Le Bohec 1999 , Christol 2001b , Pflaum 1978 230–231	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Optio</i> . Long military inscription	Statue base	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4424. Fanum d’Hercule en face de l’escal. du temenos	Beginning 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 111). Late 2nd AD (Le Bohec 1999)
Cornutus	Rolland 1958a 110; AE 1999 1022, CAG 307–308, Le Bohec 1999 , Christol 2001b , Pflaum 1978 230–231	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Optio</i> . Long military inscription	Statue base	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4424. Fanum d’Hercule en face de l’escal. du temenos	Beginning 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 111). Late 2nd AD (Le Bohec 1999)
M(arcus)	Rolland 1958a 111a; CAG 308	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Herculi VSLM</i> . II for E	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4416. A proximité de la statue d’Hercule	Later than Rolland 1958a 110
Decumius	Rolland 1958a 111a; CAG 308	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Herculi VSLM</i> . II for E. Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 3109, 4503, 4760, 4761	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4416. A proximité de la statue d’Hercule	Later than Rolland 1958a 110
Marcellinus	Rolland 1958a 111a; CAG 308	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Herculi VSLM</i> . II for E	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4416. A proximité de la statue d’Hercule	Later than Rolland 1958a 110
M(arcus)	Rolland 1958a 111b; CAG 308	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Herculi VS</i>	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4426. Fanum d’Hercule	Later than Rolland 1958a 110

(cont.)

Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG I G</i> - <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Vinicius	Rolland 1958a 111b; <i>CAG</i> 308	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Herculi VS</i>	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4426. Fanum d'Hercule	Later than Rolland 1958a 110	
Marcellinus	Rolland 1958a 111c; <i>CAG</i> 308	m		Latin	<i>Herculi VSLM</i>	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4425. Fanum d'Hercule	Later than Rolland 1958a 110	
M	Rolland 1958a 111d; <i>CAG</i> 307–308	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>		<i>Herculi VSLM</i>	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4422. Fanum d'Hercule		Likely AD
V	Rolland 1958a 111d; <i>CAG</i> 307–308	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>		<i>Herculi VSLM</i>	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4422. Fanum d'Hercule		Likely AD
Zmaragdus	Rolland 1958a 111d; <i>CAG</i> 307–308	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Eastern	<i>Herculi VSLM</i> . Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 1363, 1971. Oculist's stamps from Lyon	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4422. Fanum d'Hercule		Likely AD
L C V	Rolland 1958a 112a; <i>CAG</i> 308–309, Roth Congès 1997 192–193	?	<i>Tria nomina</i>		<i>Herculi . . . et rog valer ex voluntati LM</i>	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4420. Trouvé en place sur socle, à proximité de la statue d'Hercule		Likely AD

Valer[ia]	Rolland 1958a 112a; CAG 308–309, Roth Congès 1997 192–193	?		Latin. Absence of the <i>praenomen</i> encourages Rolland to reject <i>Valerius</i> .	<i>Herculi . . . et rog valer ex voluntati LM</i>	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4420. Trouvé en place sur socle, à proximité de la statue d’Hercule	Likely AD
F A I	Rolland 1958a 112b; CAG 309, Roth Congès 1997 192–193	?	<i>Tria nomina</i>		<i>Herculi rog et rog eius voto</i>	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4421. Fanum d’Hercule	Likely AD
L(ucius)	Roth Congès 1997 193; CAG 309	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Herculi . . . VSLM ROGE.NES</i>	Stone altar	Reused in room next to shrine to Hercules		Likely AD
Cornelius	Roth Congès 1997 193; CAG 309	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Herculi . . . VSLM ROGE.NES</i>	Stone altar	Reused in room next to shrine to Hercules		Likely AD
Valentinus	Roth Congès 1997 193; CAG 309	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Herculi . . . VSLM ROGE.NES</i>	Stone altar	Reused in room next to shrine to Hercules		Likely AD
Cornelia	Roth Congès 1997 193; CAG 309	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Herculi . . . VSLM ROGE.NES</i>	Stone altar	Reused in room next to shrine to Hercules		Likely AD

(cont.)

Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Lucina	Roth Congès 1997 193; <i>CAG</i> 309	f	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>Herculi</i> . . . <i>VSLM</i> <i>ROGE.NES</i>	Stone altar	Reused in room next to shrine to Hercules			Likely AD
G(aii)	<i>CIL</i> XII 5691; <i>CAG</i> 270–271	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>chelido(nium)</i> <i>ad cal(iginem)</i> . Fake?	Oculist's stamp on vase and bowl	Mausoleum of valley of Saint-Clair			Likely AD
Duron(ii)	<i>CIL</i> XII 5691; <i>CAG</i> 270–271	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	<i>chelido(nium)</i> <i>ad cal(iginem)</i> . Fake?	Oculist's stamp on vase and bowl	Mausoleum of valley of Saint-Clair			Likely AD
Cleti	<i>CIL</i> XII 5691; <i>CAG</i> 270–271	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	?	<i>chelido(nium)</i> <i>ad cal(iginem)</i> . Fake?	Oculist's stamp on vase and bowl	Mausoleum of valley of Saint-Clair			Likely AD
P(ublius?)	<i>CAG</i> 275–276	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin		Roughly cut stone for a column	Near les Antiques			
Val(erius)	<i>CAG</i> 275–276	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin		Roughly cut stone for a column	Near les Antiques			

C(aio)	CAG 303; Roth Congès 1992a 45	m	<i>Tria nomina</i> + <i>tribus</i>	Latin	<i>Sab(atina</i> <i>tribu).</i> Fragmentary	Socle	Naiskos	5797. Provenant du petit édicule situé le long de la voie à droite, avant le mur hellénistique de XXXV	Likely AD
Marcio	CAG 303; Roth Congès 1992a 45	m	<i>Tria nomina</i> + <i>tribus</i>	Latin	<i>Sab(atina</i> <i>tribu).</i> Fragmentary	Socle	Naiskos	5797. Provenant du petit édicule situé le long de la voie à droite, avant le mur hellénistique de XXXV	Likely AD
C(aii)	CAG 303; Roth Congès 1992a 45	m	Patron. <i>f(ilio)</i>	Latin	<i>Sab(atina</i> <i>tribu).</i> Fragmentary	Socle	Naiskos	5797. Provenant du petit édicule situé le long de la voie à droite, avant le mur hellénistique de XXXV	Likely AD
Paeto	CAG 303; Roth Congès 1992a 45	m	<i>Tria nomina</i> + <i>tribus</i>	Latin	<i>Sab(atina</i> <i>tribu).</i> Fragmentary	Socle	Naiskos	5797. Provenant du petit édicule situé le long de la voie à droite, avant le mur hellénistique de XXXV	Likely AD
Ma]rcia	CAG 303; Roth Congès 1992a 45	f	?	Latin	<i>Sab(atina</i> <i>tribu).</i> Fragmentary	Socle	Naiskos	5797. Près du premier dans les décombres	Likely AD
Mar?]ci	CAG 303; Roth Congès 1992a 45	m	? Filiation	Latin	<i>Sab(atina</i> <i>tribu).</i> Fragmentary	Socle	Naiskos	5797. Près du premier dans les décombres	Likely AD

(cont.)

Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Matto	<i>CAG</i> 309; Rolland 1972 23 note 6	m	?	Celtic	<i>CAG VSLA</i> . Rolland <i>VSLM</i> . Apart from the first 2 lines with the names, the rest of the inscription only reads --- <i>L A</i> or <i>Λ</i> ? Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 1431	Votive altar	Sanctuary area	5873. En réemploi dans un mur du Castellum Jaucerii, puis intérieur du puits derrière le mur hellénistique XLI		
Kass[.]or	<i>CAG</i> 309; Rolland 1972 23 note 6	m	?	Celtic?	<i>CAG VSLA</i> . Rolland <i>VSLM</i> . Apart from the first 2 lines with the names, the rest of the inscription only reads --- <i>L A</i> or <i>Λ</i> ?	Votive altar	Sanctuary area	5873. En réemploi dans un mur du Castellum Jaucerii, puis intérieur du puits derrière le mur hellénistique XLI		
Sex(tus)	<i>CAG</i> 309–310; Roth Congès 1992a 44 note 67	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	... <i>sportulas quas et decurionib[us]</i>	Fragment of marble inscription	Reused in late constructions to south-west of site	5324. Ayant servi de moellons dans le mur Ouest de la maison C du castrum Jaucerri bâtie à basse époque sur la 2ème terrasse S. du Sanctuaire XXXV, au Sud de l'escalier central		Likely AD

Marius	CAG 309–310; Roth Congès 1992a 44 note 67	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Latin	... <i>sportulas</i> <i>quas et</i> <i>decurionib[us]</i>	Fragment of marble inscription	Reused in late constructions to south-west of site	5324. Ayant servi de moellons dans le mur Ouest de la maison C du castrum Jaucerri bâtie à basse époque sur la 2ème terrasse S. du Sanctuaire XXXV, au Sud de l'escalier central	Likely AD
Sophron	CAG 309–310; Roth Congès 1992a 44 note 67	m	<i>Tria nomina</i>	Greek	... <i>sportulas</i> <i>quas et</i> <i>decurionib[us]</i>	Fragment of marble inscription	Reused in late constructions to south-west of site	5324. Ayant servi de moellons dans le mur Ouest de la maison C du castrum Jaucerri bâtie à basse époque sur la 2ème terrasse S. du Sanctuaire XXXV, au Sud de l'escalier central	Likely AD

(cont.)

Personal name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Nicer	Unpublished. Rapports de fouilles 1993	m					Stone block	Block (re?)used in supporting wall between vestibule and <i>cella</i>	Not clear when inscribed, whether in quarry, first construction or period of reuse	
Vikena	Unpublished. Journal de bord 1946	m			II for E. Badly damaged. Deliberate incisions, sometimes seem alphabetic. Not found at Hôtel de Sade	Sheet of lead		3582. Well of VIII		
M(arci)	Unpublished. Inventory 1960	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>MVSLM</i> . II for E	Stone altar		5446. Salle B de la première terrasse S. du sanctuaire Ind.		
Aureli	Unpublished. Inventory 1960	m	<i>Duo nomina</i>	Latin	<i>MVSLM</i> . II for E	Stone altar		5446. Salle B de la première terrasse S. du sanctuaire Ind.		
KAOYA[	Unpublished. Bats 2000 fig. 5; Bats 2004 12	?		Celtic?		Campanian ware				

Deity name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Name Gender context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
[...]ΛΛ?ΑΙ?	<i>IGF</i> 51; <i>CAG</i> 304, Rolland 1958a 98	m	?	[...]ράτας. Cf. <i>IAG</i> 16, <i>CIL</i> 991	Stone altar	Basin of the <i>nymphaeum</i>	4487. L'angle S.E. de la crypte du monument XXXVI	Before mid 1st BC (use of Greek) (Roth Congès 1997 187)	
Epona	<i>IAG</i> 10; Bémont 1981 73, <i>CAG</i> 360–361, De Brun 1935 251, 1941 60	f	Celtic	Single word	Stone altar	Reused in south wall of house II	1047	End of 1st BC (<i>CAG</i>), first half of 1st BC (<i>IAG</i>)	
[Βε]λεν[ου]	<i>RIG</i> 63; <i>CAG</i> 324, Rolland 1958a 44–45	m	Celtic	Fragmentary	Votive basin	LVII, southern basin	4711. Dans le sondage fait sous le dallage de la plate-forme XXVII, les débris recouvraient la cuvette perforée dans le bassin du niveau de Glanum II		
ματρεβο Γλανεικαβο	<i>RIG</i> 64; <i>CAG</i> 297, Rolland 1955, 1958a 114, 1960 84	f	dative plural	Celtic	βρατου δεκαντεν. Γλανικῶν (<i>IAG</i> 91); <i>Glanici</i> (<i>IAG</i> 21); <i>Glanico(rum)</i> (<i>IAG</i> 52); <i>Glanicabus</i> (Rolland 1958a 88)	Stone altar	Glanum. At base of steps near spring, beneath niche with fragments of female statues, near <i>Glanicabus</i> (Rolland 1958a 88)	4604. Au niveau inférieur, contre l'assise inférieure du mur extérieur de XXXVIII, vers l'extrémité S	First half of 1st BC (Rolland 1958a 115)

(cont.)

Deity name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Ροκλοισιαβο	<i>RIG</i> 65; Blétry 1998 , <i>CAG</i> 342–343, Lejeune 1976–8 , 1979 , Rolland 1955 , 1958a 54–55, 1960 84	f	dative plural	Celtic	βρατου δεκαντ. Cf. <i>Auribus</i> (<i>IAG</i> 18)	Stone altar	<i>Peribolos</i> of geminate temples	4241. Face S. de XXIII S. En calcaire local		2nd/1st BC
Επο	<i>RIG</i> 90; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 197–200, KPG 209–210	Or PN? Probably same hand <i>RIG</i> 90–94. Cf. <i>RIG</i> 42 (Saint-Blaise)	Campanian ware	Glanum, near and to the west of circular monument	6725	2nd/1st BC. <i>c.</i> 100 BC (Lejeune 1981 120)	
Επο	<i>RIG</i> 91; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 197–200, KPG 209–210	Or PN? Probably same hand <i>RIG</i> 90–94. Cf. <i>RIG</i> 42 (Saint-Blaise)	Campanian ware	Glanum, level III of LVII	6775	2nd/1st BC. <i>c.</i> 100 BC (Lejeune 1981 120)	
Επο	<i>RIG</i> 92; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 197–200, KPG 209–210	Or PN? Probably same hand <i>RIG</i> 90–94. Series of Xs around the bowl. Cf. <i>RIG</i> 42 (Saint-Blaise)	Campanian ware A	Glanum, level III of LVII	6776	2nd/1st BC. <i>c.</i> 100 BC (Lejeune 1981 120)	

ΕΠΟ	Rolland 1958a 46, <i>RIG</i> 93; CAG 324, Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 197–200, KPG 209–210	Or PN? Probably same hand <i>RIG</i> 90–94. Followed by geometric symbols or more letters? Cf. <i>RIG</i> 42 (Saint-Blaise)	Campanian ware	Glanum, level III of LVII	6778	2nd/1st BC. c. 100 BC (Lejeune 1981 120)
ΕΠΟ	<i>RIG</i> 94; Lejeune 1981	?	Abbrev.	Celtic; <i>GPN</i> 197–200, KPG 209–210	Or PN? Probably same hand <i>RIG</i> 90–94. Second graffiti α. Cf. <i>RIG</i> 42 (Saint-Blaise)	Campanian ware	Glanum, near paving of XXVII	7021. Près du puits dans le bassin N. des vestiges découverts sous le dallage de XXVII	2nd/1st BC. c. 100 BC (Lejeune 1981 120)
I(ovi) o(ptimo) M(aximo)	<i>IAG</i> 11, <i>CIL</i> 944; CAG 397, De Brun 1935 254	m		Roman		Stone inscription	Glanum, provenance unknown		Likely AD
I(ovi) o(ptimo) M(aximo)	<i>IAG</i> 12, <i>CIL</i> 995; CAG 256, De Brun 1935 254	m		Roman	No preposition (<i>ex</i>) with <i>voto</i>	Stone inscription, known from manuscript	?Val de Lavis		Likely AD
Iovi o(ptimo) M(aximo)	<i>IAG</i> 13, <i>CIL</i> 996; CAG 393, De Brun 1935 254	m		Roman	<i>SLM</i> . Very fragmentary	Stone altar	Entrance of road to Mouriès	M18	
Iunoni	<i>IAG</i> 13, <i>CIL</i> 996; CAG 393, De Brun 1935 254	f		Roman	<i>SLM</i> . Very fragmentary	Stone altar	Entrance of road to Mouriès	M18	

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Deity name	Reference <i>RIG = RIG I G- CAG = CAG 13/2</i>	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Minervae	<i>IAG 13, CIL 996; CAG 393, De Brun 1935 254</i>	f		Roman	<i>SLM</i> . Very fragmentary	Stone altar	Entrance of road to Mouriès	M18		
Ippo(nae)	<i>IAG 14.1; CAG 355, Rolland 1960 94</i>	f		Celtic	<i>ex m(onitu) Ippo(nae) . . . (a)ed(ituus) dis omn(i)bus</i> . Uncertain restorations. II for E	Stone pillar	Probably house VII	2719. Dans une des chambres de l'insula ouest de la rue des Thermes	3rd AD (letter forms)	
Marti	<i>IAG 14.2; CAG 355, De Brun 1941 51, Rolland 1960 94</i>	m		Roman	<i>missicius</i> . Niches for offerings	Stone pillar	Probably house VII	2719. Dans une des chambres de l'insula ouest de la rue des Thermes	1st AD? (Rolland), 1st/2nd AD (CAG, style)	
Merc(urio)	<i>IAG 15; CAG 338, De Brun 1935 258</i>	m		Roman	Might be a PN. <i>VSML (sic)</i>	Stone altar	Near <i>curia</i>	1163. Monument à abside		
Minervae	<i>IAG 16, CIL 998; CAG 272, De Brun 1935 255</i>	f		Roman	<i>VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Mas de Périat	M31	1st AD	
A[p]olini	<i>IAG 17, CIL 991; Rolland 1958a 98, CAG 265, De Brun 1935 255</i>	m		Greek/ Roman	P insecure	Stone stele	Mas de Durand. Provenance unknown	M19		

Auribus	<i>IAG</i> 18; Blétry 1998, De Brun 1941 55, CAG 354, Rolland 1960 83	f		Celtic/ Roman. <i>Bona Dea</i> ?	<i>Loreia pia ministra</i>	Stone altar	House VII west of the rue des Thermes	2852	1st/2nd AD (CAG), 1st AD (Rolland 1946 98), 1st/2nd (Rolland 1960 83)	
Dom(i)nae	<i>IAG</i> 19; CAG 354–355, De Brun 1941 56, 57	f		If Cybele, originally Oriental but widespread	<i>Attia Musa . . . ministra . . .</i>	Stone altar	House VII west of the rue des Thermes	2853		Likely AD
Bon(a)e Dea(e)	<i>IAG</i> 20; CAG 355, De Brun 1941 56	f		Roman/ Italic	<i>Vinicia Eutychia</i> . Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 654	Base of a tripod	House VII west of the rue des Thermes	2854	3rd AD (letter forms)	
B(onae) F(ortunae)	<i>IAG</i> 22, <i>CIL</i> 993; CAG 397, De Brun 1935 262	f	Abbrev.		<i>voto Carsiaudia</i> . No preposition (<i>ex</i>) with <i>voto</i>	Lost	Glanum, provenance unknown			
Opibus	<i>IAG</i> 23; CAG 355–356, De Brun 1941 61	f		Roman. But <i>hapax</i> in plural	<i>Optata VSLM</i> . Altar in the form of a column (Tuscan order)	Stone altar	Area near house VIII and VII	1191		
Parcis trebus sororibus	<i>IAG</i> 24; CAG 356, Christol and Janon 1986, De Brun 1941 52	f		Celtic/ Roman?	II for E	Stone altar	Area near house VIII and VII	1195		

(cont.)

Deity name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG I G-</i> <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG 13/2</i>	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Soli invicto	<i>IAG</i> 25, <i>CIL</i> 1003; <i>CAG</i> 397, De Brun 1935 257, Turcan 1972 29	m		Roman, originally Eastern	<i>DA Eudaem[on]</i>	Stone stele	Une bastide du terroir de Saint-Rémy			Likely AD
Lunae Luciferae	<i>IAG</i> 26, <i>CIL</i> 997; <i>CAG</i> 397, De Brun 1935 257			Roman	<i>Attia Anto . . .</i> Cf. Coins <i>Julia</i> <i>Domna</i>	Stone stele	Glanum, provenance unknown			Likely AD
Terrae Tellurae	<i>IAG</i> 27, <i>CIL</i> 333; <i>CAG</i> 207, De Brun 1935 258			Italic	<i>Con[st]antius</i> <i>Patrici[us] VP</i> <i>posuit</i> . Fake? Cf. <i>Tellurus</i> in Martianus Capella	Stone altar	Crau de Mollégès	M34	Dating difficult	De Brun AD 200
Terrae Man(ae)	<i>IAG</i> 27, <i>CIL</i> 333; <i>CAG</i> 207, De Brun 1935 258			Italic	<i>Con[st]antius</i> <i>Patrici[us] VP</i> <i>posuit</i> . Restoration uncertain. Fake?	Stone altar	Crau de Mollégès	M34	Dating difficult	De Brun AD 2000
Terrae Fertilitati	<i>IAG</i> 27, <i>CIL</i> 333; <i>CAG</i> 207, De Brun 1935 258			Italic	<i>Con[st]antius</i> <i>Patrici[us] VP</i> <i>posuit</i> . Fake?	Stone altar	Crau de Mollégès	M34	Dating difficult	De Brun AD 2000
Silvano	<i>IAG</i> 29, <i>CIL</i> 1002; <i>CAG</i> 397–398, De Brun 1935 260	m		Italic	<i>L Vibius</i> <i>Montanus VSLM</i> <i>pro Amerimno lib</i>	Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	M36		Likely AD

Silvan[o/e]	<i>IAG</i> 30; <i>CAG</i> 337–338, De Brun 1935 258	m	Italic	Rolland: <i>L(ucius) Vale(rius) [ex] / voco. CAG: e[x] / uoco?. ?QUOCO / ?QUOLO</i> . De Brun suggests that the problematic ‘Q’ may be a mallet	Stone altar	Near <i>curia</i>	1148	
[Deo] Silvan[o]	<i>IAG</i> 31; <i>CAG</i> 338, De Brun 1935 258	m	Italic	<i>Silanus...]voto</i> . Cf. <i>CIL</i> XIII 1780 (Lyon, AD 45)	Stone altar	Near <i>curia</i>	1162	
Silvano	<i>IAG</i> 32; <i>CAG</i> 397	m	Italic	<i>VSLM TCS</i>	Stone altar	Probably discovered at Glanum, transported to Mas Turrier	M9	Likely AD
Silvano	<i>IAG</i> 33; <i>CAG</i> 397	m	Italic	<i>GIS VOS</i>	Stone altar	Probably discovered at Glanum, transported to Mas Turrier	M10	Likely AD
Silvano	<i>IAG</i> 33a; <i>CAG</i> 394–395	m	Italic	<i>VSLM Q Iul Si..ia...</i>	Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	Retrouvé en 1944, dans la chapelle Saint-Bonnet de Lagoy	Likely AD

(cont.)

Deity name	Reference <i>RIG = RIG I G- CAG = CAG 13/2</i>	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Silvano	<i>IAG 34, CIL 1000; CAG 380, De Brun 1935 260</i>	m		Italic	<i>Λ Λ Λ VSLM. Tria nomina?</i>	Stone cippus	Road between quarry Pilier and <i>Via Domitia</i>	M35. Ancienne carrière au pilier debout		Likely AD
Silvano	<i>IAG 35; CAG 356</i>	m		Italic		Stone altar	Area near house VIII and VII	1193		
Silvano	<i>IAG 36; CAG 397</i>	m		Italic		Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown			
Silv[ano]	<i>IAG 37; CAG 397</i>	m		Italic		Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	2547		
[Silvano]	<i>IAG 38; CAG 397</i>	m		Italic	<i>[VSLM]. Hammered flat in antiquity</i>	Stone altar	Glanum, provenance unknown	2842. Maison VII?		
Abiano	<i>IAG 39; CAG 377, De Brun 1935 263</i>	m		Celtic	<i>Caec[us Firmus VSLM. Cf. CIL XII 6034. At Castelnau-le- Nez and Roussillon</i>	Stone altar	Reused in baths	1179	?3rd AD	

đibu diin	IAG 40; CAG 379–380, De Brun 1935 263, Rolland 1936b			Celtic?	VSLM. Barred ds? <i>Di Buden</i> [. . . ? <i>Dibu(s) De</i> [. . . ? Cf. <i>Budenus CIL</i> XII 2973	Stone altar	Gaudre de Jonquerolles	1170		
Meldio	IAG 41; CAG 396, De Brun 1941 60	m	Epithet?	Celtic	<i>VS Silanus Lutevi</i> f. Epithet for <i>Silvanus</i> ? Unique	Stone altar	Saint-Rémy, quartier de la Combette	1107		
MTPI	IAG 44; CAG 356, De Brun 1941 59			Celtic?	MATPI?	Stone altar	Area near house VIII and VII	1196		
Di M[. . .]id	Rolland 1946 45–46; CAG 350	m		Celtic?		Altar	<i>Nymphaeum</i> XIV	3353. Dans le bassin, Nymphée XIV		
Iunonibus	Rolland 1958a 51; CAG 342	f		Roman/ Celtic? Related to <i>Matres</i>	<i>[P]eregri[na]</i> . . . V.S.L.M. Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 4101, 4317	Stone altar	Outside the southern branch of the <i>peribolos</i> of the geminate temples	4238. Face S. du mur de XXIII, S.		
Silvani	Rolland 1958a 74; CAG 319	m		Italic	<i>numini Silvani sancto T(itus) Quadri[vius?]</i> <i>Valerianus VSLM</i>	Votive altar	In front of monument XXXIV	4307. Dans les déblais en avant de XXXIV, sur l'égout. Calcaire local	Not datable (Cibu 2003 344)	Likely AD
Glan	Rolland 1958a 88; CAG 296–297	m		Celtic	<i>M. L<i>cinus Claud Verecundu(s) vet leg XXI Rapacis VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Sacred road, left of niche with fragments of female statues	4407	Mid 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 89)	

(cont.)

Deity name	Reference <i>RIG</i> = <i>RIG</i> I G- <i>CAG</i> = <i>CAG</i> 13/2	Gender	Name context	Origin	Further details	Artefact	Find-spot	No. and details from inventory	Date in <i>corpora</i>	Date from reports (italicized) or formulae
Glanicabus	Rolland 1958a 88; <i>CAG</i> 296–297	f		Celtic	<i>M. L<i>cinus</i> <i>Claud</i> <i>Verecundu(s)</i> <i>vet leg XXI</i> <i>Rapacis VSLM</i>	Stone altar	Sacred road, left of niche with fragments of female statues	4407	Mid 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 89)	
(Val)etudini	Rolland 1958a 103; <i>CAG</i> 304–305, Rolland 1955	f		Italic	<i>M. Agrippa</i> . Cf. <i>CIL</i> XII 3153, 3154. <i>CIL</i> VIII 9610	Building dedication	Temple to <i>Valetudo</i>	4508. Parmi les blocs retirés de l’eau [du nymphée]	c. 20 BC	
Valetudini	Rolland 1958a 106; <i>CAG</i> 305–306	f		Italic	Cf. <i>CIL</i> VIII 9610	Stone altar	Temple to <i>Valetudo</i>	4358. Dans les décombres, entre les deux portes charretières		
Herculi	Rolland 1958a 110; <i>AE</i> 1999 1022, <i>CAG</i> 307–308, Le Bohec 1999, Christol 2001b, Pflaum 1978 230–231	m		Roman	<i>Victori</i> . Long military inscription. Cf. Rolland 1958a 109; <i>CIL</i> VIII 9610	Statue base	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4424. Fanum d’Hercule en face de l’escal. du temenos	Beginning 1st AD (Rolland 1958a 111). Late 2nd AD (Le Bohec 1999)	
Herculi	Rolland 1958a 111a; <i>CAG</i> 308	m		Roman	<i>M Decumius</i> <i>Marcellinus</i> <i>VSLM</i> . II for E. Cf. Rolland 1958a 109; <i>CIL</i> VIII 9610	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4416. A proximité de la statue d’Hercule	Later than Rolland 1958a 110	

Herculi	Rolland 1958a 111b; CAG 308	m	Roman	<i>M Vinicius</i> VS. Cf. Rolland 1958a 109; <i>CIL</i> VIII 9610	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4426. Fanum d'Hercule	Later than Rolland 1958a 110	
Herculi	Rolland 1958a 111c; CAG 308	m	Roman	<i>Marcellinus</i> . Cf. Rolland 1958a 109; <i>CIL</i> VIII 9610	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4425. Fanum d'Hercule	Later than Rolland 1958a 110	
Herculi	Rolland 1958a 111d; CAG 307–308	m	Roman	<i>M V Zmaragdus</i> VSLM. Cf. Rolland 1958a 109; <i>CIL</i> VIII 9610	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4422. Fanum d'Hercule		Likely AD
Herculi	Rolland 1958a 112a; CAG 308–309, Roth Congès 1997 192–193	m	Roman	Meaning of inscription unclear. Cf. Rolland 1958a 109; <i>CIL</i> VIII 9610	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4420. Trouvé en place sur socle, à proximité de la statue d'Hercule		Likely AD
Herculi	Rolland 1958a 112b; CAG 309, Roth Congès 1997 192–193	m	Roman	Meaning of inscription unclear. Cf. Rolland 1958a 109; <i>CIL</i> VIII 9610	Altar	North-west of shrine to Hercules	4421. Fanum d'Hercule		Likely AD
Herculi	Roth Congès 1997 193; CAG 309	m	Roman	<i>VSLM ROGE.NES</i>	Stone altar	Reused in room next to shrine to Hercules			Likely AD
Satu[r?]	CAG 303; Roth Congès 1992a 45	m	Roman	Fragmentary	Socle	Naiskos	5797. Provenant du petit édicule situé le long de la voie à droite, avant le mur hellénistique de XXXV		Likely AD

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Index locorum

- AE 1955 36, 207
 1969–70 376, 272
 Aelian, *Varia historia* 12.1, 138
 Almagro Basch 1952 no. 21, 140
Antonine Itinerary 343.6, 221
Appendix 2 no. 10, 164, 165–166
 no. 3, 154–156, 169
 no. 4, 164, 165
 no. 5, 169
 no. 7, 164
 no. 8, 164
 no. 17, 167
 no. 22, 167
 no. 23, 164
 no. 56, 168
 no. 70, 166
 no. 71, 164
 no. 72, 164
 no. 75, 164
 Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 100–107, 60
Aues 1678–1679, 60
Clouds 60–72, 132
Thesmophoriazusae 1001–end, 60
 1097, 61
 1104, 61
 1118, 61
 1123, 61
 Aristotle, *Politics* 1457a–b, 138
 Athenaeus, 10.448d–e, 124
 Ausonius, *Epicedion in patrem* 1.9–10, 269
 Ordo urbium nobilium 20.40, 46
 Bagaud 2 inscription, 8, 164, 165
 Bats 2004 12, 185
BCH 1921 1, 138
BE 1953 272, 253
 1965 507, 138
 1971 488–489 no. 553, 159
 488–489 no. 558, 159
 1994 566 no. 489, 159
 Bu Njem ostraca, 60
 Caesar, *De bello civili* 1.34.4, 211
 De bello Gallico 1.16.5, 203
 1.29.1, 113, 115
 2.13.2, 201
 5.3.3, 185
 5.36, 177
 5.48.4, 113
 6.14, 108, 115
 7.11.1, 161
 CAG 13/2 230–231, 190
 303, 129
 305, 234
 309, 237
 321, 236
 342, 240
 350, 240
 13/3 207, 151
 83/1 457, 172
 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 16.13.12, 82
 115.20, 77
 293.2, 77
 321.2, 78
Brutus 171, 278
De natura deorum 2.94, 80
De re publica 1.17, 81
Pro Fonteio 5, 45
 12, 185
 13, 185
 15, 278
 21, 185
Pro Quinctio, 45
CIL I 62, 202
 169, 202
 180, 202
 III 417, 290
 VI 22945, 290
 VIII, 20
 XI 3281–3284, 221
 XII 174, 287–288
 330, 280
 401, 150, 151
 410, 272
 505, 279, 280
 577, 269
 654, 240
 684, 129

CIL XII (*cont.*)

991, 230
 1005, 228
 1276, 230
 1506, 188
 1921, 129
 1982, 129
 2373, 161
 2916, 188
 3117, 127
 3183, 271
 3202, 269
 3328, 269
 3350, 129
 3406, 291–292
 3476, 292
 3672, 292
 3674, 269, 292
 3884, 127
 4039a, 188
 4286, 188
 4319, 269
 4335, 269
 4379, 221, 227
 4485, 270
 4486, 270
 4487, 138, 270
 4488, 270
 4489, 270
 4526, 188
 4731, 240
 4938, 188
 5686, 109, 188
 5693–12, 150
 5718, 269
 5958, 150

XIII 1048, 203

1461, 150
 1649, 154
 8343, 271

Consentius, *GL* 5.394, 277

5.395, 277

CPL 193, 92

Curbera 1997 I, 138

II, 138

DAG 74, 170–171

78, 175
 182, 156
 186, 252
 206, 185
 208B, 185
 237, 156

Dio Cassius, 79.8, 286

Dio of Prusa *Oration* 37.26–27, 265

Diodorus Siculus, 5.28.6, 113

5.39.8, 50

14.93.4, 42

FGrH 2.1 no. 90, fragment 51, 159

Herodotus, 1.26, 260

1.141–143, 159

1.142, 140, 260

1.146, 159

1.147, 142

1.148, 159

1.151–152, 159

1.152, 138

1.163–167, 159

1.165–166, 259

1.167, 261

2.178, 159, 261

6.11–12, 159, 160

6.17, 159

8.144, 15

Homer, *Iliad* 2.678, 132

5.202, 132

IAG 10, 240

12, 136, 237

14.1, 239

16, 129, 237

17, 230, 241

18, 216, 240, 242

21, 228

24, 240

27, 242

31, 242

33a, 242

39, 240

40, 240

41, 238, 242

44, 240

45, 237

50, 236

51, 237

52, 228

56, 237

57, 237

58, 237, 238

62, 238

72, 236

73, 221

74, 221

78, 236

- 79, 236
 91, 228
 93, 237
IAN 288, 292, 293
 371, 292
 373, 292, 293
ICS 153, 142
IG XI, 4 652, 138
 XIV 911, 286
 XIV 1682, 290
IGF 1, 161, 170
 3, 188, 273
 4, 141
 5, 105, 141
 6, 150–152
 7, 271, 272
 8, 290–291
 9, 142
 10, 142, 294–295
 12, 81, 289–290
 13, 138, 151
 15, 125, 138, 272
 17, 80, 267
 19, 80
 20, 141, 151
 21, 267
 22, 188
 23, 80, 293
 24, 188
 26, 80
 28, 80
 29, 80, 252
 30, 252
 32, 272
 33, 80
 34, 252
 35, 266
 36, 266
 41, 188
 42, 80
 46A1, 149
 49, 269, 270
 50, 153
 51, 229–231
 52, 188, 229
 53, 229, 266
 54, 110, 179, 229, 300–301
 56, 295–296
 57, 126, 296
 62, 266
 63, 188, 270
 64, 173
 65, 173
 66, 171–173, 274
 67, 173
 68, 149, 161, 163, 243–262
 68–8, 105
 68–28, 107
 69, 80
 70, 257
 71, 141
 73, 283–284, 286, 288, 289
 75, 92, 271
 76, 188
 84, 153
 85, 287–288, 289
 86, 126
 87, 64, 285–286, 289
 89, 188, 286–287, 289
 90, 266
 91, 266
 92, 285, 289
 93, 188, 293
 94, 270
 95, 266
 96, 266
 97, 266
 98, 266
 99, 266
 100, 270
 101, 84, 271
 102, 271
 104, 271
 105, 271
 106, 271
 118, 293
 119, 284–285, 289, 293
 120, 291–292, 293
 121, 291, 292, 293
 122, 293
 123, 293
 124, 169, 170–171, 173, 272
 125, 271
 126, 77, 271, 296–297
 127, 188, 272–273
 128, 172, 240
 131, 267
 132, 273
 133, 269–270
 134, 266
 135, 99, 140, 162–163
 141, 126, 286
 142, 272
 143, 8, 126, 300
 151, 92
 154, 270

- IGF (cont.)*
 155, 266
 159, 266
 170, 150
 178, 283
 223, 188
 224, 270
IGUR 718, 64–65
 728, 296
 II 820, 138
ILGN 34, 150
ILN III 78, 269
 160, 280
 167, 280
 191, 150
 Isidore, *Etymologiae* 15.1.63, 300

 Junianus Justinus
 43.3.13, 178
 43.4.1, 39
 43.4.1–2, 147
 43.4.11, 34
 43.11, 177
 Justinian, *Nouellae constitutiones* 73.8, 95
 Juvenal, *Satires* 3.100, 270
 7.148, 268
 15.111, 268

 Lambert 2003b G-557, 185
 Lavendhomme and Guichard 1997 143 no. 2,
 155
 no. 3, 154
 no. 7, 154
 no. 10, 156
 Lejeune 1971 452–467, 202
 1988 G-501, 112, 115
 G-502, 106
 G-519, 112, 115, 172
 1994a G-526, 102, 107
 G-528, 175, 190
 1995 G-529–548, 106
 G-529b, 106
 Lejeune and Lambert 1996 G-556, 170, 272
Lindos II 184, 138
 Livy, 5.21, 214
 27.36.2, 211
 27.36.3, 252
 34.9, 256
 37.21, 159
 37.31–32, 159

 Macalister 1945 no. 368, 132
 Marichal 1988 no. 14, 78
 no. 27.3, 170
 no. 30, 77–78
 nos. 17 and 93, 82
 nos. 30, 47 and 66, 82
MG, 243–262
 8, 107
 56, 138
 65, 138
 80, 138
 82, 105
 83, 138
 84, 138
 104, 138
 105, 138
 128, 138
 191, 142
 209, 138
 211, 138
 215, 138
 240, 138
MLH II B.1.9, 185
 IV K.1.1 A10, 207, 209
 A8, 207

 Norfolk Roman bilingual charm (Tomlin
 2004), 92

 Ovid, *Tristia* 3.11.9, 61
 5.10.35, 61

P.Mich. VIII 467–471, 76
Panegyrici Latini, 268
 Pausanias, 7.2.4, 159
 7.3.8, 159
 7.3.10, 159
 7.5.4, 159
Phokaia 9, 172
 13, 258
 14, 258
 14–18, 138
 18, 258
 20, 138
 Phonen's letter, 59–60
 Plautus, *Bacchides* 666, 212
Mostellaria 984, 212
Stichus 233, 212
 386, 207, 212
Truculentus 562, 212
 Pliny, the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 1.24.63, 187
 3.4.37, 221
 3.4.31, 44
 3.20.136–138, 161
 5.31.119, 159

- 5.32.121, 159
 29.5.9, 138
 29.5.9–10, 270
 Pliny, the Younger, *Epistulae* 9.11, 268
 Plutarch, *Pericles* 24, 138
 Polybius, 3.41, 211
 3.42.2, 50
 Priene 20, 258
 Ptolemy, 2.10.8, 221

Ravenna Cosmography, 4.28, 221
 RIB I 1065, 17
 358, 252
 II 2415.55, 187
 II 2491.78, 238
 RIG I G-3, 175
 G-4, 127, 175, 185
 G-9, 113, 190
 G-13, 102, 186, 190
 G-14, 185
 G-24, 150–152
 G-27, 189–219
 G-28, 150, 150, 175, 176, 185, 189–219
 G-53, 104
 G-57, 102
 G-59, 102
 G-63, 150, 150, 231
 G-64, 175, 189–219, 228, 280, 280
 G-65, 179, 189–219, 236, 240, 279
 G-66, 189–219
 G-67, 186
 G-68, 182, 300
 G-69, 300
 G-70, 182, 185, 300
 G-71, 182
 G-72, 186
 G-105, 102
 G-106, 180–181, 187
 G-107, 187
 G-108, 79, 104, 115, 122, 180, 274
 G-116, 113
 G-117, 102, 112
 G-118, 127
 G-119, 127
 G-121, 175, 182
 G-123, 113
 G-124, 187
 G-141, 180
 G-146, 102, 187
 G-148, 189–219
 G-151, 190, 208
 G-152, 287
 G-153, 115, 122, 127, 186, 190
 G-154, 102, 185
 G-163, 115, 155, 190
 G-178, 287
 G-183, 180, 185, 189–219, 279
 G-184, 189–219
 G-193, 185
 G-198, 179
 G-199, 113
 G-202, 115, 189–219
 G-203, 104, 107, 116, 172, 175, 189–219, 279
 G-204, 189–219
 G-205, 189–219
 G-206, 189–219
 G-207, 102, 185, 186
 G-211, 187
 G-214, 104, 107, 116, 189–219
 G-216, 176
 G-218, 107, 185
 G-219, 176
 G-224, 104, 107, 231
 G-225, 155, 155, 185, 283
 G-228, 155
 G-228–234, 154–156
 G-229, 154
 G-243, 179
 G-250, 175
 G-251, 175
 G-257, 115, 155, 186
 G-268, 102, 187
 G-269–270, 113
 G-271, 156
 G-275–278, 115
 II.1 E-1, 115
 E-5, 127, 208
 L-1, 117, 155, 180–181
 L-2, 117, 186
 L-3, 127
 L-4b, 127
 L-9, 201
 L-13, 109, 208
 II.2 L-18, 118
 L-29.1, 207
 L-29.10, 207
 L-51, 109
 L-78, 203–204
 L-79, 206
 L-97, 64, 80, 118
 L-98, 204
 L-98, 68, 118, 122, 127, 136, 203, 208
 L-99, 64
 L-102, 64
 L-103, 64

- RIG* II.2 (*cont.*)
 L-104, 64
 L-106, 104
 III, 186, 208
 IV 32, 119
 49, 119
 70, 119
 148, 119
 191, 115
 226, 203
 Rolland 1958a 15, 228
 88, 192, 216, 280
 Roth Congès 1992a, 228, 234
 Rougemont 1968–1970 no. 4,
 151
 no. 6, 151, 172

SEG 14 603, 253
 37 838, 140, 163
 41 1044, 159
 43 873, 159
*SIG*³ 585, 138
 Speidel 1994 no. 688c, 80
ST Hi 5, 205
 Lu 1, 206
 14, 205, 212
 15, 205, 212
 16, 205, 212
 22, 212
 39, 206
 40, 188
 64, 205, 212
 MV 5, 205, 213
 6, 188
 Pg 4, 205, 206
 6, 205, 213
 11, 189

 Po. 3, 202
 Sa 26, 205
 59, 205
 60, 205
 Si 3, 205
 Strabo, 3.4.2, 159
 3.4.8, 256
 4.1.4, 159, 260
 4.1.5, 33, 39, 111, 162, 260,
 267
 4.1.9, 43
 4.1.12, 276
 4.1.14, 250
 4.6.3, 27
 6.1.1, 159, 258–259
 13.1.2, 159
 13.1.41, 159
 13.3.5, 159
 13.4.5, 159
 14.1.2–6, 159
 14.1.38, 159
 14.2.29, 159
 Suetonius, *De grammaticis* 3.6, 268
 Tiberius 13, 46

Tabula Peutingeriana, 221
Tabulae Sulis 14, 20
 30.6, 132
 Tacitus, *Agricola* 4.2–3, 268
 16.1, 252
 21.2, 268
 Annales 3.43.1, 268
 Dialogus de oratoribus, 268

 Varro, *De lingua Latina* 8.27–32, 16
 Velleron inscription, 182–189, 274
 Vergil, *Catalepton* 2, 102

General index

- abecedaria*, 111
- acculturation, 4, 8, 120, 178, 293, 301
- actors, 270–271, 292
- Adams, James, 3, 14, 15, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 99, 102, 103, 113, 115, 119, 123, 124, 133, 134, 185, 213, 214, 225, 251, 264, 268, 269, 274, 276, 278, 279, 280, 281, 286, 290, 293, 294, 296, 297, 298, 300, 301
- Aedui*, 8, 44, 150
- Aeolic, 107, 125, 140, 142, 246, 257
- Agathe. *See* Agde
- Agde, 31, 33, 164, 165, 240
- agonistic activities, 92, 266, 271–272
- Agricola, 46, 268
- Aix-en-Provence, 42, 191, 233, 269, 295, 307
- Alalia, 33, 35, 258–259, 261
- Aléria. *See* Alalia
- Alise-Sainte-Reine, 113, 115, 155, 187
- Allobroges*, 42, 43
- Alpes Poeninae*, 240
- Alpilles, 221
- Amélie-les-Bains, 64, 80, 118
- anepigraphic communities, 26, 99, 101, 114, 121, 160, 228
- anepigraphic stelae, 180, 182
- anthropology, 3
- Antibes, 33, 153, 164, 167, 233
- Antipolis. *See* Antibes
- Apatouria*, 141–142
- Apollo, 138, 150, 187, 214, 230, 241, 248, 260, 261, 270
- Appian Way, 64–65, 85
- Apt, 233
- Aquae Sextiae. *See* Aix-en-Provence
- Aquae Sulis. *See* Bath
- Aquileia, 150
- Ara pacis*, 17
- archaeology, 3–22, 46–52, 158, 225–229, 243–245, 302
- archaism, 54, 64, 142, 210
- Arelate. *See* Arles
- Aristaion, *passim* (especially 243–262)
- Aristaios, 253, 254–255
- Aristophanes, 60–61, 63, 132
- Aristotle, 34, 138
- Arles, 33, 43, 45, 126, 221, 240, 243, 262, 264, 268, 270, 271, 295–296, 297
- army, 42, 45, 59, 62, 66, 69, 89, 113, 216
- Artemis, 248, 260
- Arverni*, 42
- Asia Minor, 24, 80, 114, 126, 136, 138, 151, 158, 161, 249, 287
- Athena, 259, 261
- Athens, 267, 269
- Attic, 139, 141, 142, 201, 247, 269
- Augustus, 10, 44, 161, 268
- Ausonius, 46, 269
- Australia, 14
- Autun, 266, 268, 270
- Auxey, 201
- Avignon, 112, 262, 286, 289
- Bagaud 2 wreck, 164, 165–166
- Baou de Saint-Marcel, 25, 114
- Barates, 17, 18
- Basque, 29, 69, 265
- Bath, 20, 238, 247
- baths, 239
- Bats, Michel, 9, 20, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 47, 50, 96, 97, 98, 99, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 133, 137, 148, 162, 164, 165, 168, 182, 184, 185, 189, 197, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 256, 268, 278, 301
- Beaucaire, 115, 269
- Belenos*, 150, 216, 231
- Bessan, 33, 35, 164, 168
- Béziers, 26, 33, 40, 44, 45, 112, 168, 267
- bidialectalism, 15
- bilingual mixed languages, 56, 57–58, 59, 62, 63, 72, 305
- bilingual phenomena
- borrowing, 16, 75, 79–81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91, 93, 105, 201, 209, 210, 211, 213, 274, 281, 289, 306

- bilingual phenomena (*cont.*)
 calquing, 80, 83, 90, 274, 275
 code-alternation, 76, 77, 82
 code-switching, 15–19, 55, 64, 65, 75, 76–78,
 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87–89, 90, 93, 123,
 134, 187, 188, 189, 218, 262, 274, 283,
 285, 294, 297, 306
 interference, 16, 55, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79,
 81–83, 84, 86, 87, 90, 92, 93, 171, 173,
 188, 210, 274, 289, 290, 306
 loan-shifting, 80–81, 83
 bilingual texts, *passim* (especially 74–94,
 282–297)
 bilingualism
 balanced bilinguals, 74, 76, 82, 83, 87, 88,
 299
 dominant bilinguals, 74, 76, 83, 87
 individual, *passim* (especially 74–94)
 societal, *passim* (especially 56–73)
 stable, 68–69, 88
 unstable, 68–69, 265
 Binchester, 238
 Bordeaux, 46, 269
 Bouches-du-Rhône, 22, 117, 164, 166, 172,
 184, 186, 232
 Bouchet, 266
 Bourgoin-Jaillieu, 169
 Breton, 186, 204
 Briona, 115, 211
 Britain, 8, 20, 66, 109, 119, 125, 130, 132, 148,
 187, 238, 252, 268
 Bronze Age, 36, 37, 159
 Bruttium, 212
 Bu Njem, 59–60

 cabotage, 11
 Caesar, 43, 108, 113, 177, 203, 211, 226
 Calissane, 150, 191
 Canonges, 168
 Carthage, 31
 Carthaginians, 35, 42
 Cavaillon, 112, 113, 114, 115, 127, 170, 180,
 182, 187, 260, 262, 272
 Cavares, 276
 Celtiberian, 25, 119, 121, 127, 162, 207, 208,
 209, 210
 Celtic, *passim*
 Celticity, 6–7, 125, 131, 202
 centuriation, 41
 ceramics
 amphorae, 30, 35, 39, 41, 50, 164, 165, 243
askoi, 259
 Attic ware, 35, 166, 168
 Campanian ware, 25, 39, 41, 106, 112, 114,
 154, 155, 156, 187
 cookware, 30, 31, 34, 37, 40, 256
 cream ware, 37
 fine ware, 30, 244
 grey monochrome ware, 37, 156
 Massaliote ware, 35
 Proto-Corinthian ware, 31
 tableware, 31, 37
 children, 53, 87, 296
chora, 34
 Christianity, 52, 254, 266
 Cicero, 45, 64, 75–78, 80, 81, 82, 88–89, 278
Cimbri, 42
 citizens, 44, 45–46, 257
 citizenship, 43, 45, 126, 127, 177, 275, 277
ciuitas foederata, 43, 177
 Clermont-Ferrand, 150
 coinage, 42, 45, 104, 109, 110, 115, 118, 119,
 120, 156, 161, 167, 175, 203, 228, 243,
 257, 259
 Coligny calendar, 186, 208
 Collias, 180, 195, 215, 216
 Collorgues, 196, 215
coloniae, 31, 42–45, 221, 276
 colonialism, 4, 33, 48, 52
 colonies, 24, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 43, 46,
 48, 51, 52, 109, 111, 137, 138, 139, 140,
 142, 147, 152, 157, 160, 161, 162, 164,
 166, 167, 168, 173, 177, 189, 214, 220,
 225, 227, 232, 237, 247, 249, 256, 257,
 258, 259, 261, 265, 266, 273, 281, 288,
 289, 297, 298, 302, 305, 306
 communal dining, 109
 community dynamics, 22, 51, 53–94,
 303–306
 connectivity, 11, 12, 143, 258, 261
 Consentius, 277–278
 conservative constitution, 34, 47, 137
 Constantine, 184–185, 243
 contact linguistics, *passim* (especially 53–94,
 303–306)
 Continental Celtic, 78, 125, 204, 208, 210,
 211
 Continental Europe, 13, 52
 convergence, 63, 71, 72, 89
 Corsica, 33, 258
 Costabelle, 256
 Coudoux, 117–118, 127, 186
 creole cultures, 19, 59, 66
 creoles, 15, 56–66, 72
 creolization, 8, 19, 56, 59, 63, 66
 cross-legged/crouching warriors, 40, 228

- culture–historical approach, 4, 18
 curse tablets/*defixiones*, 20, 89, 92, 238, 247, 257, 266
- De Hoz, Javier, 12, 26, 29, 95, 99, 115, 121, 124, 125, 143, 148, 157, 162, 168, 190, 221
- Decourt, Jean-Claude, 75, 92, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 171, 172, 173, 229, 245, 253, 254, 264, 270, 271, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 293, 294, 300, 301
- dedebratoudekanten*, 51, 174, 179, 182, 189–218, 240, 302
- deities, 13, 46, 108, 116, 170, 171, 214, 216, 221, 239–242, 242, 248, 254, 279
- Delos, 68, 99, 138
- Delphi, 42, 138, 261
- dialect, 15, 25, 63, 73, 119, 125, 139–143, 172, 173, 174, 175, 186, 202, 210, 237, 280
- Dietler, Michael, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 22, 26, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 109, 110, 114, 117, 147, 177, 228, 257, 297
- diglossia, 68–69, 265
- Digne, 233
- Dionysios, 248
- Dionysios of Phokaia, 160
- discrepant experience, 8
- divergence, 86, 89
- doctors, 89, 269–270
- domains, 54, 68–69, 91, 92, 162, 163, 168, 169, 201, 226, 266–273, 283, 284, 297, 298, 299
- Druids, 46, 98, 108, 112
- East, the, 31, 135, 265, 286
- education, 57, 60, 63, 67, 69, 72, 95, 96, 101, 111, 173, 210, 265, 266, 267–268, 273, 278, 298
- Egypt, 33, 68, 75, 111, 300
- Ele. *See* Hyele
- Elea. *See* Hyele
- elites, 21, 53, 75, 98, 112, 116, 129, 218, 236, 242, 265, 267, 268, 293, 298
- Elne, 168
- emic, 7, 8
- emporia*, 34
- Emporion, 24, 33, 36, 50, 138, 140, 156, 163, 164, 165, 256, 257, 260, 261
- English, 57, 58, 59, 71, 78, 79, 81, 88, 203, 298
- Ensérune, 26, 29, 36, 164, 167–168, 262
- entanglements, 4, 46, 52, 308
- Entremont, 40, 114, 118, 227, 233
- Ephesos, 260, 261
- epigraphic bias, 53, 130
- epigraphic habit, 13, 30, 114, 160, 161, 275, 277
- epigraphy. *See* inscriptions
- Epona*, 240
- ethnicity, 4–19, 25–30, 58, 120, 133, 139, 143, 150, 159, 170, 231, 284, 296
- ethnolinguistic vitality, 22, 51, 67, 69–73, 93, 136, 263, 264–299, 302, 304, 306
- etic, 7, 8, 28
- Etruscan, 13, 17, 24, 26, 29, 30, 33, 35, 37, 50, 63, 119, 121, 124, 126, 132, 134, 162, 164, 168, 179, 182, 208, 229, 236, 304
- Favorinus of Arles, 15, 264–265, 268
- fortifications, 28, 37
- freedmen, 53, 134, 237, 289, 293, 294, 301
- Fréjus, 44, 45, 46, 92, 233, 271, 283, 289
- Fürstensitze, 35
- Gallia Belgica*, 150, 185, 277
- Gallia comata*, 156
- Gallia Graeca*, 44, 124, 232
- Gallia Narbonensis*, 23, 44, 46, 64, 123, 128, 129, 133, 188, 240, 242, 262, 264–299
- Gallia Transalpina*, 23
- Gallo-Greek, *passim*
- Gallo-Latin, 26, 98, 103, 117–119, 127, 154, 174, 177, 181, 185, 186, 190, 201, 203, 206, 283
- Gard, 22, 40, 195, 196, 200
- Gardner-Chloros, Penelope, 17–18, 55, 74, 76, 88
- Gaujac, 113, 179
- Gaul, *passim*
- Gaulish, *passim*
- Genouilly, 155, 283, 300
- Germania*, 128, 133, 135, 150, 277, 279
- Germanic, 44, 122, 207, 279, 280
- Glanum, *passim* (especially 220–243)
- globalization, 8, 12
- Goudineau, Christian, 6, 8, 39, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 108, 117, 245
- grammarians, 64, 119, 277
- Gréasque, 150, 216
- Greece, 15, 39, 96, 147, 159, 273
- Greek, *passim*
- Ionic, 89, 99, 124, 137–143, 201, 237, 248–249, 255, 257, 260, 269, 281–282, 288
- Hall, Jonathan, 5–6, 15, 21, 56, 77, 119, 136, 256, 260, 261

- Hallstatt, 35–36, 40
 Hannibal, 42
 Hasdrubal, 211
 Hebrew, 89, 91
 Hellenization, 4–14
Helvetii, 113
 Hérault, 22, 29, 31, 161, 164, 167
 Hercules, 13, 207, 213–214, 216, 221, 223
 Herodotus, 15, 33, 138, 140, 142, 159, 160, 259, 260, 261
 history, 3, 5, 11, 19, 30–52, 62, 114, 116, 130, 148, 153, 158, 159, 212, 225–227, 229, 262, 297, 301
 Homer, 125, 132, 142, 268
 Horden, Peregrine, 11–12, 38, 39, 52, 211, 243, 276
 hybridization, 8, 15
 Hyele, 33, 35, 151, 160, 214, 258–259, 291

 Iberian, 13, 25, 26, 28, 29–30, 31, 40, 50, 63, 99, 119, 121, 163, 165, 167, 185, 281, 304, 305, 307
 Iberian peninsula, 24, 40, 99, 157
 Île Sainte-Marguerite, 126, 288, 289
 Imperial cult, 46, 116
 Indo-European, 7, 29, 59, 63, 125, 131, 202, 205, 206, 207, 210, 211
 inscriptions
 graffiti, 12, 21, 23, 26, 30, 31, 40, 60, 82, 109, 112, 114, 115, 118, 120, 134, 135, 139, 142, 143, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 156, 157, 161, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 179, 209, 233, 245, 247, 248, 253, 254, 276
 instrumenta domestica, 148, 153, 154, 157, 158, 164
 lapidary, 19, 54, 55, 76, 98, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 112, 114, 115, 117, 148, 150, 152, 153, 154, 158, 159, 160, 161, 173, 185, 187, 266, 270, 278, 285, 291, 303
 lead, 19, 68, 112, 118, 140, 141, 162, 163, 164, 204, 210, 214
 mosaic, 169, 170, 173, 236, 272–273
 ostraca, 60, 111
 rock, 112, 115
 stelae, 110, 117, 151, 179, 182, 184, 189, 225, 229, 283, 292, 294, 300
 tessera hospitalis, 161–162
 Insular Celtic, 78, 125, 186, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 210, 211
 intermarriage, 46, 52, 59, 71, 99, 137, 256, 284
interpretatio, 46, 170, 240, 254
 interpreters, 161, 177
 invasions, 36, 46

 Ireland, 7, 14, 20
 Irish, 14, 20, 78, 101, 131, 156, 186, 201, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209
 Iron Age, 7, 16, 28, 30, 37, 40, 44
 Isidore, 300
 Istres, 112, 115, 172–173
 Italian peninsula, 13, 24, 40, 97, 110, 114, 179, 182, 189, 205, 213, 214, 216, 233, 302
 Italians, 24, 40, 99, 189, 233
 Italic, 13, 24, 25, 50, 179, 188, 202, 205, 206, 207, 210, 211, 213, 214, 218, 241, 243, 305
 Italian peninsula, 7, 10, 13, 24, 26, 31, 33, 35, 36, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46, 48, 97, 110, 114, 115, 119, 120, 148, 150, 160, 179, 182, 189, 205, 211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 220, 221, 233, 236, 240, 242, 262, 273, 277, 299, 302
 Izmir, 160

 Junianus Justinus, 34, 39, 147, 177
 Juvenal, 268, 270

koine, 11–13, 38, 51, 91, 97, 120, 157, 179, 190, 211, 212, 213, 214, 218, 220, 242, 262, 281
 Koine, 11, 63, 99, 139–143, 255, 282
 koineization, 63, 72, 140, 305

 La Graufesenque, 23, 60, 77–78, 82, 134–135, 170, 207, 209, 238, 276, 281
 La Monédière, 164, 168
 La Tène, 36
 Lambert, Pierre-Yves, 64, 78, 97, 98, 99, 102, 103, 106, 109, 111, 113, 115, 118, 119, 120, 123, 127, 148, 149, 150, 151, 154, 162, 170, 175, 176, 185, 186, 187, 190, 193, 196, 200, 201, 203, 204, 206, 208, 210, 221, 231, 250, 272
 Lampsacus, 31, 258, 291
 language
 contact, *passim*
 death, 12, 53, 67, 71, 72, 137, 265, 299, 305
 foreigners', 59–61, 63, 277
 learners', 59–61, 63, 65, 72, 305
 lexifier, 57, 60, 62
 lingua franca, 29, 58, 59, 60, 62, 99, 162, 281
 reduced, 59, 65
 regional, 10, 61, 70, 72, 103, 141, 173–178, 274, 276–282, 307
 second, 61, 69, 74, 76, 77, 80, 89, 168
 target, 57, 61
 Languedoc, 22–23, 28–29, 35, 41
 Larzac, 68, 118, 127, 136, 203, 204, 208, 210
latifundiae, 62

- Latin, *passim*
 Latinization, 265, 299, 303
 Lattara. *See* Lattes
 Lattes, 26, 30, 47, 48, 111, 112, 164, 168, 179, 229, 262
 Le Baou-Roux, 37, 107, 114
 Le Brusç. *See* Tauroentium
 Le Castellan, 168
 Le Teil, 272
 Lejeune, Michel, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 123, 134, 140, 149, 150, 154, 155, 170, 172, 174, 175, 180, 189, 190, 191, 193, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 245, 272, 283
 Lepontic, 25, 26, 202, 208, 210
 Lesbos, 160
 Leucothea, 259, 291, 294
 Ligurian, 25–28, 42, 98, 101, 172, 178, 208, 227, 288
 literacy, 59, 62, 63, 67, 71, 91–92, 95–121, 122, 158, 161, 247
 Loire, 156
 lower Rhône basin, 22, 28, 39, 41, 98, 110, 112, 217, 243
 Lucania, 212
 Lyon, 8, 41, 92, 126, 152, 154, 221, 228, 245, 268, 272, 277, 286, 300

 magic, 64, 92, 111, 118, 266–267
 magistracies, 43, 44, 46, 203
Magna Graecia, 179, 212, 213, 214
 Mailhac, 31, 168
 Malaucène, 194, 215
 Malkin, Irad, 5, 6, 8, 11, 24, 31, 33, 258, 260, 261, 262, 301
 Marignane, 166, 168
 Marius, 42–43
 Marseille, 3, 12, 24, 26, 30–52, 92, 97, 99, 101, 107, 109, 111, 117, 125, 137, 138, 141–143, 147, 150, 151, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164, 168, 177, 178, 181, 211, 216, 218, 220, 226, 229, 232, 248, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263, 267, 268, 271, 272, 273, 290, 291, 294, 295, 297, 302, 307
 Martigues, 106, 112, 115, 168, 243
 Massalia. *See* Marseille
 Massilia. *See* Marseille
 medicine, 266, 269–270, 273, 283, 298
 Mediterraneanization, 10–13, 52, 219, 228, 232–233, 242, 302–303
 middle ground, 8
 military, 4, 39, 42, 47, 60, 89, 99, 122, 135, 149, 276, 291
 Mondragon, 266
 monolingualism, 3, 74
 Montlaureès, 168
 Montmirat, 115, 196
 Morel, Jean-Paul, 24, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, 42, 50, 137, 138, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 245, 258, 259, 260, 261, 291
 mother goddesses, 172, 196, 216, 280
 multiculturalism, 52, 110, 149, 162, 249, 262, 264, 302
 multilingualism, 3, 15, 25, 53, 55, 75, 95
 Myers-Scotton, Carol, 3, 14, 25, 57, 58, 63, 67, 68, 69, 71, 74, 76, 79, 86, 88, 89, 298

naiskoi, 259–260
 Naix-aux-Forges, 206
 names, *passim* (especially 122–143)
 Naples, 21, 260, 271
 Narbo Martius. *See* Narbonne
 Narbonne, 41, 42, 43, 45, 138, 150, 216, 227, 240, 268, 269–270
 Naucratis, 33, 261
 Nemausus. *See* Nîmes
 networks, 11, 17, 25, 35, 52, 109, 165, 211, 221, 222, 258, 261, 276, 307
 Nice, 33, 42, 167
 Nikaia. *See* Nice
 Nîmes, 40, 43, 44, 46, 92, 103, 104, 107, 111, 112, 115, 116, 117, 127, 129, 150, 170, 175, 195–200, 202, 215, 216, 218, 242, 262, 270–271, 272, 284, 289, 291–293, 307
 North Africa, 24, 31, 60, 249
 Noves, 110, 179, 229, 300

 Ogam, 20, 101, 209
 Olbia, 33, 47, 142, 163, 164, 171–173, 220, 243, 247–248, 256–257, 266, 307
 oleiculture, 13, 42
 onomastics. *See* names
oppida, 106, 161, 184, 225, 227
 Orange, 44, 45, 118
 Orgon, 190, 215
 Oscan, 24, 25, 121, 134, 179, 202, 205, 206, 207, 211, 212, 213, 214, 236, 255
 Ovid, 61

Paeligni, 212, 214
 Panionion, 260–261
 papyri, 54, 95, 126, 136, 140, 141, 166
 Pausanias, 24, 159

- Pech Maho, 26, 29, 36, 140, 162–163, 164, 165, 168
peregrini, 127
 Persian, 35, 79, 260
 Pertuis, 31
 Peyrou, 31
 Phoenician, 13, 24, 25, 29, 30–31, 63, 96, 97, 163
 Phokaia, 24, 30–35, 137–143, 151, 158–161, 172, 258–262
 Phokis, 159
 pidgins, 56–63, 72
 Plautus, 207, 212
 Pliny the Elder, 44, 161, 186, 270
 Pliny the Younger, 268
 plurilingualism. *See* multilingualism
 Polybius, 50, 211, 268
 Pompeius Trogus, 24, 34, 43, 44, 147, 177–178
 Pompey, 43, 177
 Poplack, Shana, 74, 76, 77, 79, 87, 88
 Poseidonius, 268
 pottery. *See* ceramics
 Pourrières, 150, 216
 Provence, 20, 22, 28, 35, 41, 49, 174, 177, 220, 225, 232, 242, 269
 Provincia, 23, 97
 Punic, 12, 13, 20, 25, 30, 31, 37, 38, 63, 124, 157, 211, 249, 273
 Purcell, Nicholas, 11–12, 31, 38, 39, 52, 211, 243, 276
 Pytheas of Massalia, 268

 resistance, 10, 25, 39, 46, 109, 114, 119, 265
 Rhodanousia, 297
 Rhône, 38, 101, 221, 276
 Riez, 233
 Roanne, 154–157, 167, 169
 Roccagloriosa, 214
 Rodumna. *See* Roanne
 Rolland, Henri, 51, 150, 192, 193, 216, 221, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 236, 280
 Roman conquest, 10, 38, 40, 44, 48, 109, 161, 162, 171, 177, 299
 Romanization, 4–14
 Rome, 10, 15, 16, 41–46, 47, 49, 65, 97, 109, 134, 135, 138, 188, 258, 278, 290, 294
 Roquepertuse, 47
 Rossano di Vaglio, 212
 Roth Congès, Anne, 221, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 242, 243, 300, 301
 Ruscino, 164, 168
 Saignon, 208
 Saint-Blaise, 26, 30, 49, 104, 114, 164, 168, 226, 228, 243, 300
 Saint-Chamas, 150, 191–192, 215, 216
 Saint-Côme, 103, 104, 107, 116, 198, 200, 215, 218, 272
 Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, 271, 296–297
 Saint-Just, 150, 216
 Saint-Marcel, 203
 Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, 220, 229, 300
Salluvii, 27, 42–43, 114, 226, 227–228, 276
 Sardinia, 25, 31
 schools, 82, 103, 111, 268, 272
 scribes, 62, 78, 82, 96, 163, 210, 247, 259, 289
 scripts, *passim* (especially 95–121)
 Sernhac, 107
 severed heads, 40, 228
 shipwrecks, 11, 39, 50
 Sicily, 25, 31, 39, 233, 273, 298
 Silvanus, 190, 242
 slaves, 39, 53, 57, 62, 66, 92, 134, 237, 252, 265, 288, 292–294, 299, 301, 305
 sociolinguistics, 14, 17, 69, 74, 88, 128–133, 275
 soldiers, 45, 53, 89, 110, 211
 South Shields, 17, 187
 Southern Gaul, *passim*
 Spain, 8, 24, 25, 31, 33, 42, 43, 48, 109, 121, 148, 165, 221
 Spanish, 69, 77, 78, 88
 Spoleto, 212
 standardization, 54, 173, 278
 statuary, 28, 38, 40, 46, 192, 216, 218, 232, 261
 Strabo, 33, 51, 111, 162, 221, 222, 223, 258–259, 260, 267–268
 stratigraphy, 21, 40, 106, 223
Sucellus, 242
 syncretism, 46, 240
 Szemerényi, Oswald, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 213, 214

 Tacitus, 268
 Tamaris, 30
 Tarentum, 213
tau gallicum, 102–103, 110–111, 175
 Tauroentium, 33
Teutones, 42
 Theline. *See* Arles
 Thomason, Sarah, 14, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 73, 74, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 90, 91
 Thucydides, 24, 141
 Tiberius, 46

- tithe, 190, 207, 209, 212, 213, 214, 215
 Todi, 208
 trade, 11–12, 24, 25, 29, 30–31, 33, 35–36,
 38–39, 40, 45, 46, 50, 62, 63, 66, 67, 69,
 92, 98, 99, 101, 106, 110, 112, 114, 141,
 149, 156–157, 161–169, 171, 177, 179,
 180, 211, 212, 220, 229, 236, 256, 260,
 265, 281, 296, 299, 302, 305
 Trajan, 271
 Transalpine Gaul, 25, 41, 43
 transhumance, 221–222
Tres Galliae, 44, 64, 119, 174
Tropaeum Alpium, 161

 urbanization, 13, 44, 45, 109, 115, 120,
 243

 Vaison-la-Romaine, 127, 194, 226, 230, 285,
 289
 Var, 22
 Varro, 16, 300
 Vaucluse, 22, 31, 182, 266
 Vaugrenier, 167, 168, 254
Velaunii, 161
 Velay, 161
 Velia. *See* Hyele
 Velleron, 182, 187, 218, 274
 Ventabren, 117, 155, 180, 187

 Vercelli, 211
Vestini, 212, 213
 veterans, 43, 45, 216
Via Aurelia, 167, 221
Via Domitia, 42, 221
Via Heraclea, 42
 Vienne, 129, 233, 268, 270, 293
 viticulture, 13, 42
 Vitrolles, 104, 115, 180, 274
Vocontii, 42, 147, 177
 Volcarius Moschus, 268
Volcae, 276

 Wales, 7, 20, 87
 Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew, 5, 6, 9–10, 15–19, 99,
 264
 Watkins, Calvert, 102, 174–176
 Welsh, 78, 87, 131, 180, 186, 203, 204, 205, 207,
 208, 265
 wine, 13, 16, 35, 38, 39, 164, 216
 women, 53, 68, 113, 129, 181, 187, 245, 292,
 301
 Woolf, Greg, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 19, 26, 35, 38, 39,
 44, 45, 46, 47, 96, 97, 108, 109, 111, 112,
 113, 114, 120, 264, 268, 275, 276, 277,
 291

xenia, 98, 137, 252

